HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

Workers of all countries, unite!

HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA

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INTRODUCTION

The period since the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA) is the most brilliant in the age-long history of the Albanian people. During this period deep revolutionary changes have been brought about in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country, major achievements of vital importance have been attained, putting an end to oppression and exploitation and ensuring a rapid and uninterrupted development of the country toward socialism.

These achievements have been attained by the Albanian people, first and foremost, thanks to the correct line pursued by the Party of Labor of Albania. With the formation of the Party, the working class, the laboring masses brought forth from their ranks, in the heat of battle against the fascist invaders and traitors to the country, a revolutionary national leadership absolutely determined to defend the interests of the people, capable of bringing about national liberation and social emancipation.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always been guided solely by Marxism-Leninism. It has always held aloft the militant banner of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the source of its inexhaustible strength, its wisdom and farsightedness, its courage and determination to surmount all difficulties and obstacles in order to forge ahead with unshakable confidence toward attaining its objective and fulfilling its tasks to the letter.

The Party of Labor of Albania has succeeded in carrying out the major tasks lying before it, because it has firmly relied on the people. It inherited from the people marvellous patriotic and revolutionary traditions. In their struggle against the foreign yoke and social oppression, the Albanian people have forcefully demonstrated their love of country, their deep hatred of bondage and oppression, their ardent aspirations and uncurbed will for progress, their unshakable confidence in victory, their matchless valor in battle against enemies superior in numbers and means, their sincere love and generosity toward their friends and comrades and their irreconcilable stand toward enemies and traitors. They have had to fight against many and powerful enemies in order to protect their lives and future and to ward off the danger of their extinction as a people and nation. The stand the Albanians have maintained and the wars they have waged against their enemies have always been of a popular and liberation nature; theirs have been just wars. The progressive patriotic traditions and rich historical experience of the people have served as a very sound support for the activity of the Party. Inheriting these traditions, the Party elaborated this age-long experience in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings and embodied it in its revolutionary activity. The leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania brought to the fore in all their splendor the noble virtues of our people, raised their vitality as a nation to a higher level and made patriotic and revolutionary traditions a major driving force in the liberation of the country and construction of socialism.

The Party linked its struggle for freedom and independence with the struggle against the exploiting classes in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to do away with all forms of exploitation, to build socialism. Under the guidance of the Party, the patriotism of the people was raised to a higher level, turning into socialist patriotism. Love of country was organically linked with love and loyalty toward the people's state power, toward socialism.

Enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, based on the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people, firmly relying on the people who had brought it into being, and reared and guided by the lofty ideal of loyally serving the people and socialism, the Party of Labor of Albania has succeeded in working out and always implementing a correct general line and has gained the maturity to find its bearings under all situations. It has always honorably fulfilled its obligations toward its own working class and people as well as toward the international communist and workers' movement.

The Party succeeded in becoming the sole leading force of the Albanian people in their struggle for national independence, freedom, democracy and socialism. It organized and led the victorious and most glorious National-liberation War the Albanian people have ever waged. It organized and led the reconstruction of the country devastated by the war, and its social, economic and cultural development on the road to socialism.

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania is the history of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party which has solved and continues to solve with success these main problems:

doing away with all kinds of political and economic dependence on foreign imperialist powers and securing full national independence;

developing without interruption the people's revolution from the anti-imperialist democratic to the socialist stage;

forging the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry and with the other popular masses of the country, uniting these masses into a common front around, and under the sole leadership of the Party;

establishing, consolidating and constantly perfecting the state of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

doing away with age-long economic, social, cultural and technological backwardness of the country, leading it from its *backward semi-feudal state to socialism, by-passing the phase of advanced capitalism;*

establishing and developing socialist industry as the directive force of the people's economy;

collectivizing agriculture, developing and mechanizing it;

abolishing the landlord and the bourgeois classes, the exploitation of man by man, building the economic base of socialism in urban and rural areas;

training new cadres for the various branches of economy and culture, creating the socialist intelligentsia;

educating the workers to become revolutionaries and inculcating in them the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook; uninterruptedly developing the revolution in the field of ideology and culture;

protecting our socialist homeland from the hostile intentions and acts of the imperialists, of the revisionists, and of their stooges;

establishing new relations of the Albanian State with other countries on the basis of equality, respect for national independence and territorial integrity, of non-intervention in internal affairs, and of mutual advantage;

preserving monolithic ideological and organizational unity in the ranks of the Party;

establishing and consistently preserving fraternal relations between the Party of Labor of Albania and other fraternal communist and workers' parties on the basis of proletarian internationalism; protecting the independence of the Party from the great nation chauvinistic intentions and attempts of the Yugoslav and Khrushchevite revisionists.

The Party of Labor of Albania is leading the Albanian people with determination and unshakable confidence toward completing the building of socialist society, solving major and complicated problems connected with carrying the socialist revolution through to the end in all fields — political, economic and social, ideological and cultural — with the struggle to bring about the complete triumph of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, the complete triumph of socialism over capitalism, on a world scale.

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania portrays the creative application of Marxism-Leninism under the conditions of Albania and in concrete international circumstances. The study of this History is an integral and important part of the study of Marxism-Leninism in order to bring about the ideological uplift of the members of the Party and of all the working people of the country. It helps the workers, peasants and the socialist intelligentsia to enhance their knowledge of social development and political struggle, to enrich the experience of their struggle to build socialism and communism, to assess and solve aright their actual tasks and understand the trend of development in the days to come. The study of the History of the Party of Labor of Albania helps to arouse the political vigilance of the people in battle with imperialism and revisionism, to strengthen their confidence in the ultimate triumph of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism, and of socialism on a world scale.

> *«In publishing its History, the Party of Labor of Albania is placing in the hands of the communists and workers of our country a sharp and powerful political and ideological weapon of which they will be legitimately proud. The History of the Party will open for them new and brilliant horizons and perspectives. It will further imbue the communists and people with the mighty Marxist-Leninist ideas of the Party, tempering them more and inspiring them in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, to conquer all bastions and to score further magnificent successes in the complete building of socialist society and communism».*[1]

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[1] ENVER HOXHA, Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania on June 30, 1967. Central Archives of the Party.

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In this book the first attempts are made to give a concise, systematic and all-round picture of the process of development of the Albanian communist movement, of the life and struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania, of its decisive role in the victory and uninterrupted development of socialist revolution, of the brilliant results of the policy and revolutionary activity of the Party.

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania covers three main periods.

The first period begins at the initial stage of the workers' movement and the organized communist movement to the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (November 1941).

The second period covers the activity of the Party to organize and lead the National-liberation War of the Albanian people against the fascist invaders and traitors and to bring about the triumph of the people's revolution (November 1941-November 1944).

The third period is that of the struggle of the Party, as a guiding party of the people's power and of the whole life of the country, for the building of socialist society.

CHAPTER I

THE STRUGGLE TO FOUND THE ALBANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(1929-1941)

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT. THE GROWTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE XXTH CENTURY

Ottoman domination in Albania lasted nearly five centuries. This was the period of the feudal-military regime, of ruthless national oppression, of unbearable feudal exploitation, of frequent devastating wars and of deplorable backwardness in the field of education and culture. But, at the same time, this was also the period of the indomitable struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and national independence, for material and spiritual progress, for social justice. This struggle became the decisive factor which led to the proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912.

The proclamation of independence and the establishment of the new state were events of major historical significance for the Albanians. But to the head of this state there came the landlords and the bourgeoisie while the people, who fought and shed their blood, did not get rid of oppression and exploitation by the ruling classes. In addition, independent Albania found itself surrounded by neighboring bourgeois states which pursued a chauvinistic policy toward it. The imperialist powers in collusion with these states not only dismembered Albania, wresting half of its territory in 1913, but never gave up their intentions of wiping it completely off the map of the Balkans or of placing it under their control.

Albania — a Semi-feudal Agrarian Country

The proclamation of independence found Albania in a backward agrarian state. Although capitalist relations had begun to develop in urban and, less so, in rural areas, in general they were only at the initial stage. The system of landlordism had spread in the lowlands and in parts of the uplands, whereas patriarchal survivals still reigned supreme in the life of the mountaineers, especially in the North.

The tenants were mercilessly exploited by the landlords. The poor peasants, who made up the majority of the rural population, were not better off. These owners of small plots of land could hardly make both ends meet. Want kept them continually in the clutches of the landlords, the well-to-do peasants, merchants and usurers. The ruined peasants became agricultural hired laborers. Some of them, finding no market to sell their labor power in the cities, emigrated abroad. Unjust distribution of land, ruthless exploitation by landlords, religious institutions and the state, the use of primitive tools and methods in farming, were the cause of the great poverty of the peasant masses and of the starvation which beset the country time and again.

The cities in general were small and under-developed from the economic and social point of view. In their inner life they still preserved vestiges of mediaeval times. Small-scale handicraft production prevailed in them with the exception of larger towns like Shkodra, Berat, Elbasan, Korça, etc. where capitalist handicraft factories had sprung up as early as in the XIXth century. An average of 10-15 wage earners worked in these factories. With the growth of the production of goods and the expansion of markets, the merchant bourgeoisie had accumulated considerable capital by exploiting the work of cottage handicraftsmen and by becoming landowners. But, in general, they made no investments in industry. Thus, in the newly set up Albanian State, there were only 25 minor factories which engaged mainly in processing a few agricultural products. These were primitive concerns employing about 150 workers all told.

During the first decade following independence, the rate of industrial development was extremely low. About 50 new factories and workshops were set up. But even the largest factories employed no more than 30 workhands each. A larger number of workhands were employed at the salt pits, in lumbering and building construction enterprises. Some tens of workers were also employed in the Selenica (Vlora) bitumen mines run by foreign concession holders.

The majority of workers employed by capitalist concerns were seasonal workers. When the seasonal work was over, they would return to their native villages to engage in agricultural pursuits. The factory workers and miners were also of handicraft and peasant origin. They had not yet formed a politically class-conscious stratum.

The workers were ruthlessly exploited by the capitalist owners. The working day was 10 and, in some cases, 14 hours long while the wages were very low, barely enough to feed the workers and their families. But even such as they were the wages were not guaranteed. Cheap labor power grew continuously and made it easy for the capitalist proprietor to lower wages or arbitrarily delay payment for months on end. There was no law whatsoever to enforce labor insurance, and the capitalist proprietors took no safety measures for the workers.

By the side of factory workers there stood the broad masses of apprentices in handicraft workshops and trade units. Their exploitation became more unbearable, because it was interwoven with mediaeval forms and methods. Most of them were children or young people. In addition to working in handicraft or trade shops, they ran also a number of errands for their masters. They were severely punished for the slightest mistakes.

Since the early years of the XXth century, the apprentices had begun to struggle in a more or less organized way against the exploitation to which they were subjected by the proprietors of workshops and merchants. But this movement, which developed mainly in Shkodra, was of a local and spontaneous character. In general, the socialist ideas that spread here were distorted and, in some cases, degenerated into petty-bourgeois «socialism». The early workers' organizations had the character of associations of mutual assistance and promoted the spirit of solidarity among workers rather than the struggle against exploitation. Membership in these organizations was extended also to private handicraftsmen who needed the help of apprentices in the struggle against the merchant bourgeoisie and factory owners in order to protect small-scale production. But they were short-lived.

Under foreign domination, the workers' movement also assumed a pronounced patriotic character.

The events immediately after the proclamation of independence in 1912 made it impossible for the Albanian State to develop along normal lines. The internal political clashes during 1913-14 and the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 created a favorable situation for the imperialist powers and the neighboring chauvinist states to attain their objectives toward Albania. Albania was turned into a battlefield on which the political and military interests of the belligerent states clashed. In the 1915 April Secret Agreements, the imperialist powers of the Entente decided to deprive Albania of its independence and to partition its territory. The armies of the imperialist powers occupied the whole territory of our country up to the end of the war.

Foreign occupations and military operations caused the Albanian people innumerable misfortunes. The economy of the country was wrecked. Whole villages were ransacked and turned to ashes. Starvation became widespread while epidemics exterminated part of the population.

The Great October Socialist Revolution and Its Impact on Albania

At this time, when the Albanian people were in distress, oppressed, thought little of, and their rights were ruthlessly trampled upon by the imperialists, a major event shook the world, namely, the triumph of the Great Socialist Revolution in Russia.

On November 7 (October 25, old style), 1917, the working class and peasantry of Russia, led by the Party of Bolsheviks headed by V. I. Lenin, overthrew the regime of the capitalists and landlords and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The banner of socialism was raised over one-sixth of the world.

In Soviet Russia, the October Revolution created the necessary conditions for wiping out every kind of exploitation of man by man, every form of social and national oppression, for the victory of the new socialist order.

The Socialist Revolution in Russia inaugurated a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the overthrow of capitalism and of the triumph of the socialist order, the epoch of proletarian revolutions in capitalist countries and of national-liberation revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, the epoch of the creation of a single revolutionary front of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.

The triumph of the Great October Revolution was the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over social democracy, opportunism, revisionism. Marxist-Leninist ideology received a new impetus in its triumphant march in the international workers' movement.

The October Revolution and the Soviet Republic exerted a major influence on the revolutionary movement of various countries. They pointed out the way to the laboring masses all over the world, inspired them by the example they set, giving an unprecedented impulse to the workers' and national-liberation movements in the world.

The October Revolution echoed in Albania too. Its ideas and the policy pursued by the Soviet Government influenced the rise of the movement for national liberation, for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the homeland, and the expansion of the revolutionary democratic movement.

Of special significance was the disclosure by the Soviet Government of the secret treaties of the imperialist powers. Among these treaties published by decision of the 2nd Congress of the Soviets was the April 1915 secret London Treaty according to which Albania was to be divided up among Italy, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. The content of this treaty was made known at once to Albania. A great wave of indignation swept the Albanian people. The anti-imperialist liberation movement to safeguard freedom, independence and territorial integrity against the London Treaty took broad proportions. The anti-imperialist National Congress of Lushnja in January 1920 and the heroic Battle of Vlora in the summer of that year, which ended with the expulsion of the Italian imperialists from Albania, bear witness to the high sense of patriotism of the Albanian people as well as to the influence exerted by the Leninist anti-imperialist policy.

Following the triumph of the October Revolution and under conditions of a general revolutionary upsurge in Europe, the news about the victory of the Russian Bolsheviks began to spread among the Albanian workers, handicraftsmen and intellectuals whose sympathy for Soviet Russia was increased. Lenin's name became a symbol of «the lofty principles of mankind», of the new society without exploited and exploiters. The first pamphlets about the Soviet Union and communism infiltrated into the country from abroad. They were read in close circles of intellectuals and workers. The October ideas spread among the masses of the city poor who were in great economic difficulties due to the devastating consequences of the First World War and the anti-popular policy of the landlord-bourgeois governments in power.

The 1924 June Revolution

Following the expulsion of foreign imperialist and neighboring chauvinist forces, in the political and social life of the country there arose, first and foremost, the struggle to establish the democratic order and, especially, to solve the agrarian question. This battle was waged by the peasant masses and the ordinary townspeople including the workers.

The working class had not yet reached that point of ideological and political maturity to set up their trade unions, even less, their own party. Consequently, the workers' movement in general could not overcome its initial weakness. The new associations formed during the 1920-1923 period by artisans and workers performed functions of assistance and were extremely unstable. A movement began among the workers of an occasional factory or mine, as well as among apprentices. But their strikes were always spontaneous and their demands purely economic. In addition to objective causes, a hindrance to the workers' movement was the continuous anti-socialist activity of the ruling classes which took larger proportions after the October Revolution.

The workers' movement merged into the broad popular movement which spread throughout the country. Its main strength lay in the peasantry and poor city masses of people who bore the brunt of the ruthless landlord-bourgeois oppression and exploitation. From all regions protests were sent to the government and parliament demanding the abolition of tithes and of the high customs duties on grain. In March 1923, thousands of city people and peasants in Korça demanded that bread be provided for the population and that the depots of the grain speculators be opened up. About 3,000 city people and peasants of the Vlora district protested against the anti-popular policy of the government, broke into the warehouses of the speculators, seized the grain and distributed it free of charge.

The poor and oppressed peasants demanded land. The fight for land had become acute and, in many cases, it was expressed in open attacks to take it from the landlords and the state by force. The solution of the agrarian question also in Soviet Russia exerted its influence on intensifying our anti-feudal struggle. In a backward agrarian country like Albania, Bolshevism signified the expropriation of the landlords without compensation and distribution of their lands to the peasants free of charge. But these radical demands of our peasants were not backed up by the bourgeois political groups which led the democratic movement. These groups gave a narrow meaning to agrarian reform. They aimed at reconciling the interests of the peasants with those of the landlords and at «improving» the state of farmers without affecting the landlord class. The Albanian bourgeoisie was made up mainly of merchants and small-scale manufacturers, some of whom were also landowners. As a class, they were not in favor of radical changes. In the democratic movement they took part as opponents of the dictatorial intentions of the Zogite clique and of the overlordship of landowners in the political life of the country. The most important role in inciting and organizing the democratic movement was played by the revolutionary democrats combined mainly in the «Bashkimi» Association. Most of them came from the ranks of intellectuals of petty bourgeois origin. «Bashkimi» gathered in its ranks and organized the youth, especially the school youth who made names for themselves in the revolutionary democratic movement. This organization and other democratic elements firmly supported the radical demands of the peasants for land and enlivened the political scene of the country by raising the most urgent political and social problems which required solution.

In the spring of 1924 the spread of the movement created a revolutionary situation. The murder by the landowning reactionaries of Avni Rustemi, one of the leaders of the democratic movement, served as the signal for the armed uprising.

The uprising, which broke out in May, ended with the victory of the revolutionary forces on June 10, 1924. A bourgeois-democratic government headed by Fan Noli came to power.

The program proclaimed by the government contained a number of tasks and reforms which aimed at embarking the country on the road of bourgeois-democratic development. In the political field, it envisaged the establishment of democracy through free and direct elections, the radical change of the state civil and military apparatus. In the social and economic field, it envisaged the uprooting of feudalism, the emancipation of farmers from landlord exploitation, the modification of the tax system to benefit the people, facilitation of the penetration of foreign capital, the encouragement and protection of local capital. In education, it required a system based on national and up-to-date lines. In foreign affairs, the government would pursue a policy of friendly relations with all and, especially, with neighboring states.

This program was supported by the broad masses of people who demanded that it be carried out to the letter. On the other hand, it came up against the frenzied opposition of the local landlords and imperialist reaction. At the same time, the revolutionary drive of the masses scared the chiefs of the local bourgeoisie who made common cause with the landlords and imperialists and, fighting together against implementing this program, exerted great pressure on the new government.

Under these circumstances, the bourgeois democratic government was shaken in its resolve, pursued a policy of class reconciliation, and showed itself incapable of carrying the revolution through to the end. It did not rely on the masses, nor did it strive to carry out its declared program. This led to its alienation from the popular masses who had brought it to power. As a result of the pronounced inactivity and waverings of the government the idea sprang up among the radical democrats that the popular masses should themselves settle accounts with the landlords and irresolute chiefs of the bourgeoisie by electing a new parliament with representatives from the farmers and workers. But this was not achieved.

Of positive significance was the government's anti-imperialist stand which was the result of the democratic nature of its program. It rejected the servile submission of the country to fascist Italy as well as the chauvinist pretensions of the Yugoslavs and Greeks to Albanian territory. It established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. But in foreign affairs too, it yielded to British and U.S. imperialist pressure.

The imperialists and the reactionary governments of the neighboring states launched a wide campaign against the democratic movement in Albania. Counting on their support, the landlords and other reactionaries of the country made preparations to suppress the revolution.

On December 24, 1924, the Albanian counter-revolutionary forces led by Ahmed Zog, coming mainly from Yugoslavia with the direct support of the imperialists and reactionary Serbian and White Russian forces, entered Tirana and overthrew Fan Noli's government. Zog's regime came to power in Albania.

The June Revolution was an integral part and active element of the powerful revolutionary movement of peoples, which had begun following the triumph of the October Revolution. But it triumphed at a time when the reactionary and fascist forces in Europe were on the offensive and the revolutionary movement had begun to ebb. It was precisely at this time that Albania became a revolutionary hotbed in the Balkans. The significance of the June Revolution transcended the borders of our country. European communist and democratic circles showed particular interest toward it, for they assessed aright its revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature. George Dimitrov considered the suppression of this revolution as the loss of one of the bases of the revolutionary movement in the Balkans and as an expansion of the Balkan reactionary front.

2. THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In January 1925, the Zogite clique proclaimed Albania a republic with Ahmed Zog as its president. In September 1928, the republic was turned into a monarchy, while Zog proclaimed himself King of the Albanians.

The Economic and Social Plight of the Country Under Zog's Regime

Zog's regime remained from the beginning to the end a ruthless anti-democratic dictatorship of the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The internal support of Zog's regime came from the reactionary forces of the country: the landlords, the big merchant bourgeoisie, the rural bourgeoisie, and the chieftains of the highlands. These forces served as a social basis during the whole 15-year existence of this regime.

Zog pursued an anti-popular and anti-national internal and external policy. Zog's dictatorship maintained intact the survivals of feudal relations, consolidated landlord and capitalist exploitation, set up a whole system of plundering the masses of the people. He hindered economic and cultural development, leaving the country in backwardness and ignorance.

Zog abolished all democratic institutions and freedoms, banned the formation of political parties and organizations, and suppressed all attempts of freedom of thought and organization. He ruled by the method of terror and combatted any progressive idea, under the banner of anti-communism.

The oppressive apparatus of the regime was corrupt from top to bottom. It relied especially on the mercenary armed forces, the gendarmerie and the police. The army had a thoroughly anti-popular character, and it was maintained for protecting the bourgeois-landlord political regime from the revolt of the working masses. All the armed forces were trained and led by foreigners, agents of imperialism.

Feeling insecure in its power, the Zogite clique sought the aid of imperialist states. At first it rewarded Yugoslavia for its aid by giving away part of the territory of Albania. Later it linked up with Italy and Britain, two of the big imperialist powers most interested in the Balkans, in general, and in exploiting the subsoil riches of Albania, in particular.

Toward foreign capitalist powers, Zog pursued the «open door» policy. This policy was gradually concentrated on close economic and political ties with fascist Italy which made every effort to place Albania completely under its influence. These agreements paved the way for fascist colonization. As a powerful means to place our country under economic and political bondage, the Italian financial groups set up «The National Bank of Albania» and the «SVEA» (the Association for the Economic Development of Albania). They laid hands on the most important mines, most of the public works, the custom houses and nearly all the foreign trade of the country. Italian capital infiltrated also into the light industry. In 1938, Italy's capital investments in Albania mounted to 280,000,000 gold francs while the annual budget was little more than 28,000,000 gold francs. Their plundering aims were also served by the high interest loans the Rome Government made to the Zogite clique which were used, first and foremost, for the personal enrichment of Zog and his retinue. Thus, Italian capital became the real master of the national economy of Albania. It turned the country into a market for the sale of industrial goods and a source of raw materials.

The economic agreements which paved the way for the infiltration of Italian capital were accompanied by political pacts like those of Tirana of the years 1926 and 1927, which entitled Italy to protect Zog's regime from any internal or external attack even by force of arms. These pacts hitched Zog's clique to the chariot of fascist Italy. Albania was thus being turned into a semi-colony of Italian imperialism.

The penetration of foreign capital into Albania gave a one-sided character to the economy of the country. The Italian colonialist policy, the pronounced survivals of feudalism and the failure to encourage a national economic policy caused the country to remain virtually without industry. In 1938 Albania had about 300 small factories and workshops which, for the most part, engaged in processing agricultural products, especially flour, oil and tobacco. Nearly half of them employed fewer than 10 workers each. These factories, workshops and mines employed about 7,500 workers all told. The working class by now had increased to about 15,000 but it was scattered and bound to primitive forms of production. Apprentices in handicrafts and trade made up a good part of this number. Mass unemployment and the lack of any labor code enabled the capitalist concerns and owners, backed by the state apparatus, to exploit the workers mercilessly. In enterprises employing Albanian and foreign workers, the Albanians were subjected to ruthless discrimination. For equal work the Albanian worker was paid much less than an Italian worker.

Capitalist relations were further developed in agriculture as well. The well-to-do peasants grew stronger and stronger as a result of the further division of large estates and of the continuous ruination of the small landholders. Nevertheless, they did not succeed in becoming an advanced agrarian bourgeoisie. Capitalist relations spread especially in state-owned farms and in farms set up by foreign Italian capitalist companies by confiscating the lands of tens of peasant families. They employed some thousands of farmhands.

During Zog's regime, Albania remained the most backward agrarian country in Europe. In 1938, of the population engaged in material production about 87% worked in agriculture while only 13% were engaged in industry and in the other branches of economy; industrial and handicraft production made up only 9.8% of total production while income derived from industry represented 4.5% of all the national income. The capitalist form of economy, which was mainly in the field of trade, did not succeed in becoming the dominant form in the Albanian national economy. Taxes were heavy and brought ruin to the broad masses of people. Want and misery prevailed throughout the country.

Economic backwardness also brought with it a pronounced cultural backwardness. More than 80% of the population were illiterate. The number of schools was limited while higher education and cultural and scientific institutions were entirely lacking. No concern was shown for public health. The people were continuously afflicted with grave endemic diseases.

The Formation of the Korça Communist Group

The anti-popular and anti-national policy of Zog's regime aroused a general dissatisfaction among the popular masses. The struggle to solve the anti-imperialist democratic tasks was again on the order of the day. Conditions for a fresh upsurge of the democratic movement had become very difficult because of the Zogite terror which had burst forth throughout the country. In spite of that, the opposition to Zog did not cease. The anti-Zog democratic forces carried on their struggle in different forms.

The resistance of the democratic forces was now expressed especially in the revolutionary acts of the peasants and workers. The peasants of many districts rose against the violence of landlords who wanted to evict them from their properties or appropriate their lands, as well as against the heavy taxes. In certain cases, this conflict developed into bloody clashes with Zog's gendarmes.

The working class began to play a role of ever greater importance. Its ranks had been swelled by ruined peasants and handicraftsmen. Most of them engaged in public works subsidized by foreign (Italian) funds. As far back as 1925, these workers, ruthlessly exploited by the entrepreneurs, raised their voice against injustices, protested and went on strike time and again, demanding that they be paid their wages on time instead of one or more months in arrears. In 1927, the workers employed by the British Concessionary Oil Company and the Selenica miners joined them in strikes to demand higher wages. The intervention of Zog's gendarmerie often forced them to return to work without achieving their rights.

Some other workers' organizations were also set up during this period. Such were: «The Workers' League» in Gjirokastra (1925), the «Përparimi» (=«Progress») Association of Tailors in Tirana (1927), the «League of Tailors» in Korça (1927). These were associations of apprentices whose objective was to develop solidarity and organize mutual aid among workers, to limit the power of what was left of the merchant guilds, to settle conflicts between apprentices and employers, etc. The Korça «League of Tailors» admitted also master artisans to membership and tended toward reconciling their interests with those of the apprentices. Such associations could not and did not play a significant role in organizing the workers' movement.

Right from the start the struggle of the peasants and city workers assumed an anti-Zog character, because Zog's regime put in motion its military and police apparatus to suppress by force every movement which aimed at improving, no matter how slightly, the miserable plight of the masses. But this struggle was unorganized and developed sporadically, because it lacked a revolutionary leadership.

The movement of the democratic forces, the enlivenment of the workers' movement and the general dissatisfaction of the people toward the regime had at last created the necessary background for an organized communist movement. A significant role in this direction was played by the Marxist literature which circulated among workers, handicraftsmen and intellectuals. This literature was brought from outside by the Albanians who studied or worked abroad and who had embraced communist ideas and tried to propagate them.

In 1928, advanced elements among workers and handicraftsmen set up the first communist cell in Korça. The cell members were not well trained theoretically and politically, but they realized the need for the organization of the communist movement as an essential condition for the successful development of the workers' movement and of the fight of the popular masses against the landlord-bourgeois regime.

Soon other cells had sprung up in Korça. This called for a reorganization of the work. In June 1929 a meeting of the representatives of the communist cells was called for this purpose. At this meeting a managing committee was set up headed by craftsman Mihal Lako. A decision was taken at the meeting to work to form new cells. The cells would spread communist ideas through educational groups. It was likewise decided to get in contact with the masses and the workers' movement through the legal workers' associations. The task of the establishment of revolutionary workers' associations to demand economic and political rights was laid down for this purpose.

The June 1929 meeting marks the creation of the Communist Group of Korça and the beginnings of the organized communist movement. Under the direction of a committee the Korça communist movement got well under way. Within a short time there were 8 cells in operation totalling 40 members. Each of them directed from 3 to 4 educational groups.

The Korça Communist Group was the first revolutionary political organization of the Albanian working class, but it took only the initial steps. The group was still weak, not well organized and lacking experience. The literature on communism which was studied by the members of cells and sympathizers was not all Marxist. It included Trotskyite and anarchist material which spread ideological confusion among its readers. Among these, the most widespread were the archio-Marxist[1] publications of the organization of Greek Trotskyite intellectuals. The archio-Marxist views were adopted by certain elements who took part in the Korça Communist Group. One of them, Niko Xoxi, was a member of the managing committee. They professed Marxism in words but in reality they distorted its basic theses and struggled in every way against putting them into practice.

The formation of the Korça Communist Group coincided with the beginning of the economic crisis of world capitalism, which had ruinous economic consequences in Albania as well. The landlords and capitalist proprietors tried to throw the whole burden of the crisis on the shoulders of peasants and workers. Reduced prices for agricultural products aggravated the plight of the peasantry. This compelled many peasants to abandon their lands and to look for means of subsistence in the towns. Many artisans and small merchants were ruined, because they could not find markets for their commodities. At the same time, many workshops and factories suspended or restricted production. All this brought about a tremendous increase in the number of unemployed and a lowering of wages. Therefore, the workers' movement of strikes in defense of their rights assumed wider proportions. In 1929, the builders at Librazhd, the quarrymen at Shëngjin, the road builders on the Kruja-Burrel highway and others went on strike. In 1930, the builders in Tirana clashed with the capitalist entrepreneurs. That summer, the workers of the Vau Dejes work-site in Shkodra went on strike, and so did the copper miners in Puka, those working on an irrigation canal in Kavaja, on a bridge near Rubik and on the Sinanaj bridge near Tepelena, the crews of the fishing boats and coastal shipping.

The worsening of the general economic situation and the starvation suffered by the poorer strata of the population greatly increased the dissatisfaction toward the regime.

The growth of the workers' movement was a good opportunity for the Korça Communist Group to broaden its activity and to link itself with the masses. But it kept aloof from this movement because of its pronounced ideological and organizational weaknesses. An important change in the activity of this group was made with the assistance of the prominent communist militant Ali Kelmendi.

The Albanian Communist Movement and Comintern

Efforts to organize the Albanian communist movement were made outside the country also. The Communist Third International (Comintern) rendered valuable aid through the Balkan Communist Federation in organizing the Albanian revolutionary democrats who had been obliged to emigrate after the suppression of the June Revolution and the establishment of Zog's dictatorship.

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[1] Archio-Marxists were members of an anti-Marxist organization that carried out its activity in Greece. This denomination came from the title of their press organ «Archio Marxismou» («The Archives of Marxism»).

The lessons they drew from the 1924 events enabled the Albanian revolutionary democrats to define correctly their general political orientation on the international arena where two antagonistic world forces — imperialism and socialism — were in action. They turned to the Soviet Union, which they called «the natural protector of all oppressed peoples», and to the world communist movement. In March 1925, they formed in Vienna (Austria) the democratic organization known as the «Komiteti Nacional Revolucionar» (KONARE) (= «The Revolutionary National Committee»), while a group of young revolutionaries, former members of the «Bashkimi» Association, went to the Soviet Union. Some of them who had embraced communist ideas enrolled in the schools and political courses of the Comintern to acquire Marxist-Leninist knowledge. In August 1928 they formed the Albanian Communist Group in the Soviet Union centred in Moscow. The 8th Balkan Communist Conference, which was held that same year, instructed the Albanian communists to do a long and careful preparatory work for setting up communist groups in Albania «to organize and unite the most advanced elements among workers and peasants» so that they might eventually form the Albanian Communist Party.[1]

The Albanian Communist Group in the Soviet Union drew up its own Constitution which was approved by the Comintern. According to this Constitution, the group's principal task was to work for the founding of the Albanian Communist Party as the Albanian section of the Comintern.

In the «Committee for National Liberation» (KONARE's new name after April 1927) the group set up at once its own communist fraction which strove to keep alive the revolutionary spirit of the organization and of its organ «Liria Kombëtare» (= «National Freedom»).

In line with the Constitution the primary task of the Albanian Communist Group in the Soviet Union was to develop concrete revolutionary work inside Albania and to help the communist movement there. Among the communists who returned home for this purpose in 1930, the most prominent was Ali Kelmendi.

On his return home, Ali Kelmendi set to work and created new underground communist groups in Albania. He formed a communist cell in Tirana and organized the communist fraction in the «Përparimi» (= «Progress») Association of Tailors. On his initiative, communist cells were set up also in Vlora, Kruja and Elbasan. In general, these cells were small and unstable. Their members were mainly elements of petty bourgeois origin: teachers, employees, armymen, and handicraftsmen lacking sound ideological and political training.

Ali Kelmendi also established connections with the Korça Communist Group in which the situation was unsatisfactory. The group was locked in its own shell and the anti-Marxist elements in its ranks had begun to erode it from within and paralyse its activity.

Ali Kelmendi helped the Korça Communist Group to pull itself out of this situation. He instructed it to combine illegal with legal work, to take active part in the legal associations of workers and artisans and to turn them into revolutionary organizations, to extend its operations into other cities and, especially, to work centres, to translate Marxist literature which would help raise the ideological level of communists. Although he was deported to different cities by the Zogite authorities, Ali Kelmendi tried to maintain connections with communist organizations and to give them all aid. His deportation to Korça in 1932 enabled him to collaborate directly with the communist group there. Ali Kelmendi's speech at an enlarged meeting of the managing committee which was held in July 1932 opened up clearer perspectives to the group. The Korça Communist Group adopted a sounder political and organizational platform. Consequently, its activity also entered a new phase of development.

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[1] George Dimitrov's Letter Addressed to the EC of the Comintern, September 12, 1929. Central Archives of the Party.

The First Workers' Organizations Led by the Communists

The communists were engagged in much more fruitful work with the masses. The continuation of the economic crisis created favorable conditions for this kind of work. Strikes by workers followed one after another. The building workers continued to lead this movement. Therefore, it was natural for the Korça Communist Group to direct its attention, first and foremost, toward this category of workers. On its initiative, the «Puna» (= «Labor») Association was formed in Korça in September 1933. Membership in this association included not only workers but also master builders of various categories who were exploited by the capitalist entrepreneurs. The «Puna» Association was led by the communist fraction. Its chairman was Member of the Committee of the Korça Communist Group Pilo Peristeri. Quickly the membership of this association rose to about 500. The non-seasonal nature of their job constituted a stable basis for the organization. To avoid persecution by the gendarmerie, in its constitution approved by the government, the «Puna» Association was presented as a non-political society of mutual aid. But its real program was approved at a semi-legal meeting organized by the communists. According to this program, «Puna» was a revolutionary organization to protect the rights of workers which would, at the same time, fight against Zog's regime and for freedom and democracy.

This initial success encouraged the communists of the Korça Communist Group to extend their activity. Following the example set by «Puna» and on the initiative of communists there were set up during 1934 trade unions of shoemakers, tailors, motor vehicle drivers, etc.

The Korça Communist Group exerted its influence also among the secondary school students of the city who were imbued with progressive patriotic sentiments. The most revolutionary elements among them even formed a communist cell.

But the group continued to confine itself within the city. Its links with other communist organizations were either weak or entirely lacking. At the August 1934 meeting it decided to extend its communist activity to other towns of the country, but no perceptible progress was made in this direction.

The extension of the revolutionary activity of the Korça Communist Group was accompanied by a sharpening of the ideological conflicts within its ranks. The Trotskyite elements launched a fierce attack against Ali Kelmendi's line and against the more sound elements of the group. They did their uttermost to hinder the extension of the influence of communists among the masses. Their chief representative Niko Xoxi aimed at seizing the leadership of the group and at compelling it to adopt Trotskyite views. In order to justify his hostile work, Niko Xoxi propagated far and wide the «theory of cadres» borrowed from Greek archio-Marxists. According to this «theory», the communists should not act, should not approach the masses and organize them, but they should shut themselves up in their cells and engage only in theoretical education.

The Korça Communist Group could not successfully develop its activity without dealing a hard blow at Trotskyite Niko Xoxi. Therefore, the enlarged meeting of the managing committee decided to expel him from its ranks but did not deprive him of his membership in the group. This halfway measure allowed him and the other archio-Marxist elements to intensify their divisive hostile activity within the group and among the members of workers' associations. It was only through great clarifying efforts of the sounder communists that Niko Xoxi was almost completely isolated.

Participation of Communists in Democratic Anti-Zog Movement

The communist movement had already spread to a number of cities in Albania. New communist organizations were set up during the 1934-1935 period in Tirana, Shkodra, Fier, Vlora, Elbasan and Gjirokastra. But these organizations were not made up of workers either. They were small and, in general, operated in isolation from one another. They spread communist ideas but their propaganda work was limited, sporadic and detached from the political and economic problems facing the country. The ranks of the new organizations, especially in Tirana, contained also a few communist officers.

There was very favorable ground for the development of the communist movement in Albania due, as Ali Kelmendi wrote at the time,

> «to the spirited and irreconcilable nature of the struggle of the people against the regime, on the one hand, and to the treachery, irresoluteness and inactivity of the politicians of other trends, on the other».[1]

In these circumstances the consolidation of the communist movement could be brought about by establishing sound links among the various communist organizations and by organizing a wide democratic, anti-Zog and anti-imperialist movement among the workers, peasants, armymen and youth, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population and who suffered deeply the consequences of Zog's anti-popular and anti-national policy.

Although the Committee of National Liberation, which had taken upon itself the obligation to organize the anti-feudal and anti-fascist movement, had done good propaganda work through the press and leaflets, it had remained an organization of political exiles and had not established a foothold within Albania itself. Illegal work under Zog's oppressive regime demanded great sacrifice which the leaders of the organization were not ready to make. On the other hand, the communists inside Albania in general had not attained ideological maturity enough to understand the urgent need of setting up a broad democratic and anti-imperialist movement. It was only their hatred of Zog's regime and their patriotism that brought the communists, especially those of the Tirana organizations, into active participation in the anti-Zog movement during the 1934-35 period.

In 1934, the relations between Albania and Italy became very tense. Seeking to turn Albania into a semi-colony of its own as quickly as possible and to exert pressure on Zog to capitulate, the Rome Government dispatched its navy to Durrës. Zog's yielding to Italy's pressure gave impetus to the anti-Zog movement. As far back as April 1934, a group of former officers and bourgeois intellectuals had formed a secret organization whose aim was to overthrow Zog's monarchy, to establish a republican regime and to eliminate Italian intervention in Albania. This organization confined its activity to military circles and bourgeois intellectuals. Fascist agents also joined its ranks with the intention of turning the movement to the advantage of fascism. The Tirana communist organization and a number of communist officers known for their anti-Zog militancy also joined this secret organization.

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[1] A. Kelmendi, Report Sent to the Comintern, December 14, 1936. Central Archives of the Party.

The Korça Communist Group also took up the question of participating in the secret organization at its 1934 August meeting. It decided to exploit this occasion in favor of the anti-Zog democratic movement and, if the uprising broke out, to take part in it as an independent force with its own program. This program envisaged: the proclamation of the people's democratic republic; the abrogation of all enslaving agreements with fascist Italy; the abolition of monopolies and concessions; an amnesty for political offenders. But the Korça Communist Group did not set to work to broaden the anti-Zog movement and exert its influence in it. It maintained a wait-and-see attitude and envisaged acting around its program only when the uprising had triumphed, by taking over power in the city of Korça where it enjoyed more influence among the masses.

The ranks of the anti-Zog movement were further strengthened by the help rendered by communist Riza Cerova who had returned from the Soviet Union in March 1935. He strove to draw the Skrapar and Mallakastra peasants into the movement.

Zog's government scented the movement and began to take measures. The chiefs of the movement were compelled to start the uprising ahead of schedule, on August 14, 1935, in Fier. However, it was soon suppressed by the government forces. Lack of organization and the premature start of the uprising gravely jeopardized the plan of operations. The forces led by Riza Cerova failed to attain their objective. Riza Cerova fell fighting against Zog's gendarmes, convinced, as he had written to his family, that the people would be free only when the exploiting classes were overthrown.

The Fier uprising failed. It was foredoomed to failure, because it lacked a sound revolutionary leadership, it lacked organization and it was detached from the urban and rural masses of the people who had not been prepared for an uprising. The bourgeois anti-Zog opposition showed itself entirely incapable of organizing and leading a broad popular movement. Moreover, the movement had a medley of reactionary fascist elements in its ranks who tried to utilize it as a means to carry out fascist Italy's plans toward Albania. The communists who took part in the movement, although determined to carry it through to the end, did not succeed in becoming the leadership of the movement, in making all-round preparations for it or in issuing a clear-cut political program. All this resulted in the uprising turning into a mere putsch. Nevertheless, it was a manifestation of indignation and dissatisfaction against the oppressive landlord-bourgeois regime. It was of political significance, and its echo reached beyond the country's boundaries. Public opinion among democrats inside Albania and abroad rose against the terrorist measures of reprisal that Zog undertook after the suppression of the uprising. On the other hand, the uprising, as Ali Kelmendi wrote, was «the ordeal by fire and the touchstone» for the Albanian communists. He added, «They passed this test with honor and showed themselves to be worthy brothers of the communists of other lands».[1]

3. GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST DANGER DURING THE 1935-1939 PERIOD

The period from 1930 to 1940 witnessed major transformations in the economic and political life of the Soviet

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[1] Ibid.

Union and the capitalist world. For the Soviet Union this was the period of the struggle for the construction of socialist society. Guided by their Communist Party with J. V. Stalin at the head, the Soviet people turned their country into a major industrial power with advanced collectivized agriculture. The triumph of the socialist order in the Soviet Union was of world historical significance.

On the other hand, the deep economic crisis of the period from 1929 to 1933 had shaken the very foundations of the capitalist world and had greatly aggravated the contradictions which were eroding it from within. In order to pull itself out of this predicament, the imperialist bourgeoisie of many countries supported the spread of fascism and the establishment of fascist regimes, that is, the most reactionary, terrorist and chauvinist dictatorship of financial capital. The advent to power of the nazis in 1933 created a dangerous hotbed of war in Germany. The fascists launched a frenzied attack on the workers', communist and democratic movements, and made feverish preparations for aggressive wars. The danger of another world war became greater with the attack of militarist Japan on China in 1931, and fascist Italy on Ethiopia in 1935.

The world was threatened by the fascist danger, by the danger of a second world war. The so-called «democratic» Western powers like Britain, France and the USA took no effective measures to ward off this danger but aided the militarization of the fascist countries and, through their ill-famed «non-intervention» policy, encouraged fascist aggression with a view to directing it against the Soviet Union.

Only the Soviet Government and the Communist Parties of the different countries struggled with all their might to restrain the aggressors.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International

The new situation created by the danger of fascism set new tasks for the world Communist Parties. The 7th Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow in July 1935 stressed the need to intensify the battle against the onslaught of capital and fascism. In connection with this, the congress set the task of striving to set up a unified front of the working class against fascism, by securing the unity of action of the workers and, on this basis, forming a broad anti-fascist people's front. In order to accomplish these tasks and penetrate among the broad masses of workers, it was necessary for the Communist Parties to surmount a range of weaknesses such as the survivals of sectarian traditions, to change their methods of agitation and propaganda, which were in most cases of an abstract nature, and to make them as concrete as possible by linking them with the direct needs and day-to-day interests of the masses. The congress called on all the peoples to mobilize their forces to aid the countries fighting for their independence against the imperialist yoke.

The resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern mark a new stage in the further development of the international communist and workers' movement. Their creative implementation under the specific conditions of each country paved the way for the communists to take the lead among the broad masses of the people and to become the principal guiding force of the democratic and anti-imperialist workers' movement.

These resolutions drew the people's attention to the danger of fascism and pointed out the course they should pursue to prevent its advent to power. They were of major importance to all countries and, especially, to those countries like Albania which were directly menaced by fascism.

Communists in the Lead of the Growing Revolutionary Movement

The pressure of fascist Italy on Albania and Zog's servile policy led, in March 1936, to the conclusion of the Italian-Albanian Agreements which marked a big step in the further subjugation of Albania by fascist Italy.

In these circumstances, in Albania, in addition to the fight against oppressive capitalist exploitation and Zog's regime, the struggle against the fascist enslavers was ever growing in importance. The Albanian bourgeoisie was closely bound to Zog's regime and could not lead the struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of the country although it had economic contradictions with Italian monopoly capital. Even those bourgeois democratic forces which continued their struggle against Zog's regime and against subjugation to Italy, after the failure of the Fier uprising, were no longer capable of leading the anti-Zog and anti-fascist movement because of their lack of determination and organization.

The communists were now the only revolutionary force which could lead the popular masses in the struggle to attain democratic rights and safeguard the freedom and independence of the country.

The Fier uprising had shaken the Zogite regime and had discredited its policy. The King was compelled, as Ali Kelmendi wrote, «to resort to a demagogical manoeuvre to gain time, to recuperate from the blow he had received and to prepare a second attack against the people». In October 1935, he appointed a new «liberal» government which made high-flown promises of reforms.

The policy of the new government aimed at consolidating Zog's regime, but the very limited freedoms it proclaimed were used by the communists to extend their organizing of the working class and to spread their influence among the broad masses of people.

In the fall of 1935, the movement started at the most important work centre of the country, namely, Kuçova (now Stalin-city) run by the AIPA Concessionary Company (the Italian oil company in Albania). About 1,600 Albanian workers were employed in extracting oil and in the auxiliary sectors of the oil field. As far back as 1934, a clandestine nucleus to organize the trade union of the oil workers had been formed on the initiative of the communists. In October 1935 it formed the «Puna» Association. At the beginning it had about 700 members but one year later this number had risen to over 1,500. In November it was recognized by the government. Although, in order to avoid any obstruction from the government, the Constitution stipulated that «Puna» was established to «safeguard the dignity and the interests of its members and to help them morally and materially», it was at once turned into a revolutionary anti-Zog and anti-fascist workers' organization.

Even prior to receiving official recognition the «Puna» Association of Kuçova presented to the government and parliament a petition requesting the establishment of the 8-hour workday, measures to improve the conditions of lodging, food and hygiene, as well as certain measures of social insurance. The workers demanded also that they should not be compelled by the foreign proprietors to give the fascist salute. When the representative of the government sent to Kuçova rejected the demands of the workers, they protested by launching a short strike and a demonstration against him. With the government's support, AIPA sacked the leaders and other activists of the association. As an open anti-Albanian reprisal, AIPA declared November 28, 1935, the Day of Independence, as a workday. On this day the «Puna» Association organized a powerful manifestation directed mainly against the Italian fascists.

The ranks of the organizations created on the initiative of the communists and led by them increased in December 1935 with the formation of «the League of the Private Employees of Korça». Its membership was made up of workers and employees of trade, bakeries, restaurants, banks, etc. Since it was not officially authorized, the league began to work in semi-legality.

The communists were placed at the head of the workers' and the people's anti-Zog movement, which, in 1936, entered a new stage of development.

In January of that year the «Puna» Association of Kuçova decided to take strike action to win its demands. The first to strike were 400 workers building the oil pipeline to the «Ujët e Ftohtë» (Cold Springs) in Vlora. This strike was followed by that of the workers of the Kuçova electric power station, and, on February 11, it took the character of a general strike. To suppress the strike the government dispatched a large contingent of gendarmes headed by the Minister of Interior himself, who arrested 60 of the most advanced workers and deported 300 others to various other cities. The general strike was suppressed after three days by the intervention of the gendarmerie. The «Puna» Association practically ceased to exist.

Although it failed, this general strike had a major significance. It was a revolutionary school for the workers. On the other hand, it compelled the government to demand, at least formally, that the entrepreneurs create more suitable working conditions.

Parallel with this, a powerful movement of protest against famine and against the Zogite regime was spreading in the other regions of the country. In the fall of 1935 hunger had reached its height. Thousands of people were threatened with famine. The army of the unemployed had increased by leaps and bounds. The discontent and indignation of the people of various walks of life, especially of the masses of the urban and rural poor, was directed, first and foremost, against the grain speculators with whom the high functionaries of the regime collaborated. An active role in this movement was played by the handicraftsmen who were being ruined by the competition of industrial production. Their struggle was nourished by petty-bourgeois illusions of perpetuating small-scale production and putting a stop to factory production. Although these demands were utopian, the handicraftsmen's movement was in essence a movement directed against the misery which had befallen the country.

The Korça Communist Group managed to take advantage of the situation created to lead the popular masses and to impart a political character to their struggle. The communist fractions of the builders' «Puna» Association, of the associations of shoemakers, tailors and others, got busy in organizing the movement, in making it a more compact movement of the masses and in directing it against the Zogite regime. On February 21, 1936, there broke out in Korça the mass demonstration which has gone down in history as the «Demonstration for Bread». Bloody clashes with the gendarmerie did not prevent the workers and handicraftsmen, who were joined by the secondary school students, from staging another demonstration in the afternoon. The clashes with the gendarmes assumed a more bitter character.

The demonstration for bread in Korça was the first popular anti-Zog mass action organized and led by the communists. Although suppressed, it caused a big sensation throughout the country and sowed panic among the authorities and the ruling class. On the other hand, it inspired the masses of the people in other districts by its example. Hunger demonstrations broke out also in Gjirokastra, Saranda, Leskovik, Bilisht, Pogradec and Berat. The discontent of the masses toward Zog's regime was expressed also by the popular demonstrations which took place in Vlora in July 1936, and in Elbasan in October of the same year.

In September 1936, Ali Kelmendi was expelled from the country by Zog's government. Before departing, in Gjirokastra he met Enver Hoxha who had just returned to Albania and who distinguished himself as an active communist militant.

The Communist-led Press

The 1936 events testified to the spreading of the influence of the communists among the masses, but on a national level these successes were still very limited. The communists carried out their political work of exposing Zog's regime and its anti-people and anti-national policy only through agitation among individuals. Rigorous Zogite censorship prevented them from expressing their views openly through the press. Nevertheless, they succeeded in having their writings of a progressive democratic nature published in the bourgeois press organs. In 1934 and 1935, the communist fraction of the Committee for National Liberation had published two pamphlets depicting the whole rottenness and reactionary character of Zog's regime. These publications included a new program of the popular movement in Albania which envisaged the organization of the armed uprising of the popular masses led by the working class to overthrow Zog's regime and establish the People's Republic. The Albanian Communist Group in Lyons (France), on its part, had begun to publish «Populli» (=«The People»), a militant anti-Zog paper

which was later replaced by «Sazani». But these materials were confined in Albania mainly to a narrow circle of intellectuals.

The need to give wider publicity to the democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist ideas within the country made it necessary for the communists to use new forms of agitation. They had begun to utilize with success the cultural and artistic associations. The «Besa Shqiptare» (=«Albanian Fidelity») Association, founded by the students of the Shkodra Gymnasium as far back as 1929, and the drama group of the «Puna» Association in Korça won great popularity through their performances of plays of patriotic, democratic and anti-imperialist content. In addition, the various communist organizations got busy in publishing legal organs which would become tribunes for them and the progressive elements of the country. The communists of the Tirana and Korça organizations immediately took advantage of the situation created by the advent to power of the «liberal» government, and published such organs which exerted a wide influence throughout the country.

Of these, the publication that lasted longest was the review «Bota e Re» (=«The New World») first published in April 1936. Although it was written in Aesopian language to escape the censorship, the «Bota e Re» in communist hands became a powerful weapon for criticizing the regime in power and the ills of Albanian society in general. It waged a bitter battle against the reactionary fascist ideology and treated the basic social and political problems facing the people in a revolutionary democratic spirit, calling on Albanian democratic public opinion to strive to solve them. The «Bota e Re» became the favorite organ of the democratic youth and intellectuals whom it imbued with love for the working people and hatred toward the exploiting classes of the country.

The Multiplication of Communist Organizations. The Shkodra Communist Group

The revolutionary events of the years 1935 and 1936 were an important success for the communist movement, but, at the same time, they had revealed a series of shortcomings in the organization of the workers' and anti-Zog movement. The first obvious task was to spread the communist movement all over the country, to establish sounder relations among the organizations and to coordinate their activities.

For this purpose in December 1936 the Korça Communist Group set up a new managing committee charged with the task of developing activities in all the districts of the country. This committee's aim was to become the guiding centre of the Albanian communist movement. But it did not attain this objective. New organizations of the Korça Communist Group were set up only in Berat and in Tirana where the typographers also formed their own association. The work accomplished by the committee in the various districts of the country was of a superficial and sporadic character. Recruitment of new elements was not on the basis of a thorough acquaintance with them. This was how anti-Marxist elements entered the ranks of the organization and caused damage to the communist movement.

Meanwhile, a new important centre of the Albanian communist movement was forming in Shkodra. The first communist organization founded there as far back as 1934 had extended its field of operations. New cells and groups of sympathizers were set up. The **Shkodra Communist Group** extended its jurisdiction to Tirana, Elbasan, Gjirokastra, Korça and elsewhere. Regional committees were set up in 1937 in Shkodra and Tirana for the purpose of directing these organizations. The chairman of the group was Zef Mala, an intellectual with distorted theoretical views and seriously lacking political clarity.

The activity of the group among the masses was confined to school and handicraft circles and to a few work centres. Its most outstanding achievements were the creation of the Youth Organization in Shkodra and Tirana, and the Carpenters' Association in Tirana.

The Shkodra Communist Group lacked a sure, defined political line, a clear-cut organizational form, sound discipline and secrecy among its ranks. The cells which, in general, were made up of three members, engaged mainly in their own theoretical studies. The literature in use for this purpose, which included a number of the classic works of Marxism-Leninism, helped spread communist ideas. But Trotskyite and anarchist literature also circulated among the organizations of the Shkodra Communist Group, just as in other groups.

In its course of development, the Albanian communist movement came up against serious obstacles caused by the Trotskyites. Coming from Athens to Albania at the beginning of 1937, Andrea Zisi (under the pseudonym «Zjarri»= «Fire») claimed that he was the chairman of the so-called «Albanian Communist Party» formed in Greece and allegedly recognized by the Comintern. In fact, he was the leader of a Trotskyite group set up in Athens in 1936 and known by the name «Zjarri». A. Zisi had undertaken the task of merging the Albanian communist groups with his «party» and forcing them to accept his anti-Marxist line. The Korça Communist Group gave no recognition to A. Zisi's «party» but expressed its willingness to collaborate with him provided he accepted the group's platform. Meanwhile, A. Zisi established links with factionist Niko Xoxi with whom he found a common language. The two coordinated their efforts to fight the Korça Communist Group.

Aristidh Qendro, on his part, had begun to engage in hostile activity against the communist movement in Tirana. Formally he figured as a member of the Korça Communist Group. Lack of control by the leaders of the group had enabled him to act without being exposed. On behalf of the group he had recruited a number of members in Tirana whom he imbued with his own anti-Marxist views. By 1937, these had completely degenerated into a group of Trotskyites.

It was at this time that the Shkodra Communist Group made its initial efforts to link up with the Korça Communist Group. In a letter addressed to the Korça communists in 1937 it asked them, as the more experienced, to help in matters of organization. The readiness shown by the Korça Communist Group to help was sabotaged by N. Xoxi. Posing as the representative of the Korça Communist Group, he had informed the Shkodra Communist Group of the creation of «the Albanian Communist Party» in Greece and of the imminent arrival of «its Central Committee» in Albania. Niko Xoxi accused the leaders of the Korça Communist Group and Ali Kelmendi of being nationalists and splitters of the communist movement. His views found favorable soil among the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group among whom ideological unclarity prevailed. Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi became, in fact, the principal leaders of the group. The approach and collaboration between these two main communist groups was undermined.

This split greatly jeopardized the communist movement and, consequently, the revolutionary democratic movement as a whole. It was in this plight when the frenzied anti-communist campaign broke out following the advent to power of the new reactionary government in November 1936. This government resorted to brutal persecutions

against the communists and all the progressive elements. It dissolved the workers' associations, prohibited the formation of new associations and permitted only the formation of workers' corporations of the fascist type under the direct supervision of government authorities. Progressive publications were banned and strict censorship was imposed on all books and organs of the press published in the country or brought from outside. In 1937, Zog imprisoned most of the communist officers.

Zog's government, on the other hand, had allowed the spread of fascism far and wide in Albania. Mussolini's special envoys set to work to organize the Albanian youth after the fascist pattern. In Korça, they set up a «committee of action» composed of Albanian fascist elements, and throughout the country they organized a wide network of agents whose duty it was to pave the way for the complete enslavement of the country by Italy. The reactionary Catholic clergy had a special mission in the achieving of this end.

Zog unreservedly supported the counter-revolutionary uprising which had broken out in Spain in 1936 and recognized Franco's fascist government.

Zog's deeply reactionary and pro-fascist policy aroused great concern among the Albanian communists and patriots for the future of the country's independence. They were becoming more and more aware of the fascist danger to Albania and all the peoples of the world. In this direction, the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern were of great assistance. The Albanian communists considered the just war of the Spanish people as a war in defense of the interests of Albania as well. Their hatred toward fascism and their spirit of proletarian internationalism was expressed with special force by the Albanian communists and anti-fascists through their willingness to go to Spain as volunteers. As far back as 1936, the communist groups sent members there to fight side by side with the Spanish people. The Albanian volunteers, among whom were Mehmet Shehu, Asim Vokshi, Thimjo Gogozoto, Ramiz Varvarica, Zef Hoti and Musa Fratari, fought courageously against fascism in the ranks of the International Brigades. Many of them fell martyrs in the field of battle, while Teni Konomi, member of the leadership of the Korça Communist Group, was murdered by the fascists before setting foot on Spanish soil.

The New Line of the Albanian Communist Movement

In circumstances of the increasing fascist danger for Albania, it became imperative for the communist groups not only to collaborate more closely, but also to reorganize all their work to comply with the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International. The first attempts to carry out the new line of the Comintern were made by the Albanian communists abroad. On the initiative of the communist fraction of the Committee for National Liberation in Paris, there was set up in March 1936 the «Democratic Front» of the political organizations of Albanian exiles. But the conservative section of the anti-Zog bourgeoisie in exile, represented at this front by the Bashkimi Kombëtar (= «National Union»), had degenerated politically and was incapable of undertaking patriotic and revolutionary actions. The result was that the «Democratic Front» was soon dissolved.

The communist groups within the country had not yet established regular communications with the Comintern because there was no officially recognized party in Albania. Nevertheless, the Comintern was now and then informed of the activity of the communist groups in Albania by Ali Kelmendi and the Albanian communists residing in France.

In December 1936, Ali Kelmendi submitted a report at a meeting of the Albanian communist activists working abroad. This meeting was called together in Moscow on the initiative of the Balkan Section of the Comintern for the purpose of analysing the situation in the Albanian communist movement and of determining the tasks that lay before it in the light of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Comintern. Ali Kelmendi called for an intensification of the work to organize and set up a communist party. An important measure in this regard would be to set up an organizational centre in Albania which would rely on the existing groups and, primarily, on the Korça Communist Group. The duty of this centre would be «to consolidate and guide the existing communist groups, to organize the communist movement throughout Albania as well as to call a Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Albania».[1] Ali Kelmendi considered it necessary to have an independent communist organization which would lead the trade union and anti-fascist movement. On the initiative and under the guidance of the communists, an underground and centralized organization of a democratic and anti-fascist character should be set up to fight against Zog's regime and the Italian imperialists, to establish a democratic republic, and to annul the enslaving agreements with fascist Italy. A popular front would be set up on the basis of this organization.

After examining the report, the meeting took decisions which were also approved by the Comintern. In line with these decisions, a clandestine organization of a democratic and anti-fascist character was to be set up in Albania. It would be under the leadership of a Central Committee composed of communists and patriotic nationalists. The communist nucleus of this committee would be made up of five persons who would work on the spot. This organization would serve as a vantage point for the establishment of the popular front. With regard to the communist organizations, the Comintern proceeded from the fact that the old cells were detached from the masses and shut in their own shell and, as such, they were incapable of carrying out the new line. Therefore, they and their leading forums should be temporarily dissolved and reorganized on a party basis after having established sound foundations among the masses by working through the legally authorized associations. Contacts among communists should be personal. The functions of the communist organizing centre should be exercised by the communist nucleus of the Central Committee pending the formation of the party. The minimum program of the communists, which would also be the political platform of the new organization, consisted of two principal tasks, namely, (a) the struggle in defense of national rights and (b) the struggle in defense of democratic rights, based on the most elementary demands of the masses of the people. For the defense of national independence, the new organization would collaborate with all classes, social strata and elements who were in favor of the struggle against fascist bondage. The propagation of the new line would be done by a clandestine paper which would be published by the communists.

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[1] Ibid.

Ali Kelmendi and Koço Tashko were charged with transmitting these instructions to Albania. Ali Kelmendi went to France to make arrangements to enter his homeland. While there, he had to do a lot of persuasive work among the Albanian communists and exiles to carry out the new line. He devoted special attention to exposing the hostile activity of Llazar Fundo, a member of the communist fraction of the Committee for National Liberation, who tried to wreck the whole work done by the Albanian communists in France. Llazar Fundo sabotaged the work of sending Albanian volunteers to Spain to fight against fascism and, finally, came out in the open against the Soviet Union, taking under his protection the Bukharinites, Trotskyites, and other hostile elements condemned by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union. He was condemned as a traitor to communism, as an agent provocateur of imperialism, and was expelled from the ranks of the Albanian communist movement.

Illness prevented Ali Kelmendi from returning to his home country to carry out the mission entrusted to him. He died in Paris on February 11, 1939.

Attempts to Carry Out the New Line in Albania

The Korça Communist Group was the first to learn of the new instructions of the Comintern in the fall of 1937. After studying the new line, the leaders of this group accepted it as a platform for their further activity, although they had some reservations about dissolving the communist cells and committees and hesitated at first to carry it out. The group appointed its own representative in the communist nucleus of the Central Committee. It decided to put the new instructions into practice, intensifying the work with the masses in legally set up organizations like the handicraftsmen's associations, county, municipal and chamber of commerce councils, among para-military groups, students' out-of-school associations, in the legal press organs, etc.

From the beginning, the spread of the new line to the other communist organizations of the country came up against the obstruction of the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group. Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi rejected the new line, saying that, in principle, they were for direct social, and not for national, revolution; that they were opposed to imperialism, but unwilling to collaborate with the nationalists; that they were in favor of direct action when the time came, and not of dilatory and roundabout actions, and so on.

The new line was opposed also by the Tirana Trotskyite organization headed by Aristidh Qendro who, like Zef Mala, considered collaboration with patriotic nationalists and the establishment of the people's front as a betrayal to the working class.

The political and ideological enlightenment of the communists, exposure of Trotskyites, and the incorporation of the sound communist forces into a single Albanian communist party required hard and persistent work. But those who took this task upon themselves recoiled before difficulties. The communist nucleus in the Central Committee of the new organization which was to be formed never acted as such at any time. Its members were not people prepared to make sacrifices. Koço Tashko himself, who had brought the new directives and had the main responsibility for applying them, proved to be quite incapable, from the political and organizational point of view, of carrying them out.

The Korça Communist Group, on their part, remained confined to their city. In March 1938, they dissolved their cells. This caused some confusion and disintegration among the communists who considered the cell as the most suitable form in which to be educated with the Marxist ideology and to examine collectively the problems of the workers' movement. Nevertheless, both before the dissolution of cells and after, the communists of the group did their best to carry out the new line in Korça and scored important successes. They assumed the leadership of the city's democratic movement and extended their influence among the masses of the people who considered the communists as the most resolute champions of the people's interests. This became evident in the elections to county councils, to the council of the chamber of commerce, to the «Rinia Korçare» (=«Korça Youth») out-of-school organization, etc., and especially, at the municipal elections. The communists presented the list of candidates of the democratic bloc, which included also progressive bourgeois elements, for the new municipal council. In the June elections, the communists scored a brilliant victory. The democratic bloc won 86% of the votes, against the list sponsored by the capitalist group of the «General Electric Company», although the latter spent large sums of money for elections and had the powerful backing of the state organs. With their work the communists shook the masses of electors out of the political lethargy and indifference into which they had sunk, and involved them actively in the political life of the city. The new municipal council of Korça led by the communists took a number of steps of a democratic nature which were unprecedented in the practice of the municipal councils of the country. It held open meetings so that the electors might supervise its activity, it rid the municipal administrative apparatus of reactionary employees and replaced them with communists and democrats. It used part of the municipal funds to give financial aid to the poor and to build streets, aqueducts, etc., in the city quarters of the poor. It brought charges in court against the «General Electric Company» with a view to annulling the concession it had obtained through bribery, etc.

The democratic bloc put forward by the branch of the Korça Communist Group in Durrës also won at the municipal elections held in July that year in that city. There were similar successes in Gjirokastra and Peqin.

The Disputes Between the Korça Communist Group and That of Shkodra Become More Acute

The Korça Communist Group attached special importance to the struggle against fascism which was jeopardizing the freedom and independence of the country. This struggle was a fundamental strategic task of the communists. The «Përpara» (=«Forward»), illegal organ which the group started to publish in autumn 1937, for the purpose of educating its members and propagating the new line, denounced fascism as a regime of exploitation, oppression and war, laid bare the true features of the initiators of the fascist movement in Albania and of their supporters — the landlords, the upper merchant class and usurers — and exposed them as enemies to the people. This periodical warned the communists against the fascist danger threatening the country and called on them to mobilize the people in struggle against it. The Korça Communist Group did not confine themselves to propagating the idea of setting up a broad anti-fascist movement, but resorted to direct action as well. In 1938, the communists engaged in street fighting with the members of the «Fascist Committee» operating in Albania. They frustrated all attempts to organize our youth on Italian fascist lines.

The Korça Communist Group pursued a correct general line toward the internal problems of the country. In conformity with the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, in their periodical «Përpara» they expounded in theory the necessity for the communists to establish close links with the broad masses, to lead the masses in their day-to-day struggle for their most elementary political and economic rights, and to set up a people's front which would mobilize the masses for struggle against the fascist menace. On this basis the Korça Communist Group put forward their minimum program calling for struggle

a) for the national rights of the people against imperialism; b) for the democratic rights of the people against violations of the national Constitution and attempts to implant fascism in Albania; c) for peace against war and d) for the elementary economic rights of the people.

«Përpara» pointed out that in a semi-colonial country like Albania there existed not only a social but a national problem as well, that the latter had priority, and that the national movement, in which the broad masses of the people were interested, could and should help the social movement of the working class, that this was the only class capable of leading the masses and loyally defending their interests. To confine oneself to and engage in battle with the forces of the working class alone, without mobilizing the national forces, «Përpara» emphasized, was dangerous adventurism.

> «We are obliged to work wherever people come together,» the Korça Communist Group organ wrote, «in state organizations, schools, clubs, religious congregations, women's associations and elsewhere. Our legally-approved program and tactics are to facilitate our work in organizations authorized or set up by the state. Now we are obliged to work in a roundabout way for the sole reason of gathering forces in order to eventually engage in direct actions. Power lies with the people; without the masses we are but a handful of persons. . . .»[1]

The Korça Communist Group attached major importance to the movement against Italian imperialism. This movement had swept with it various social strata and was considered a sound basis on which to set up the popular front.

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[1] «The National Movement and the Social Movement». «Përpara», September 1938. Central Archives of the Party.

The application of this line brought a number of successes to the Korça Communist Group, but only within the city. The group had a very narrow view of the basis on which the popular front should be formed in a backward agrarian country like Albania at that time, where the peasantry made up the overwhelming majority of the population. While preaching the need to proceed from the working class to the other strata of the people, this group did almost nothing for the countryside, for the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry, without whom no popular front could be set up.

The Shkodra Communist Group, on their part, had not drawn the necessary lessons from the successes scored by the communists in the elections of councils of various institutions in Korça, Durrës and elsewhere. Instead of striving to unite the communists of the country and to extend their contact with the broad masses of the people, the top leaders of this group pursued the course of splitting and fighting against the Korça Communist Group which had adopted the new line of action. A negative role in this conflict was played by «Buletini Jeshil» (= «The Green Bulletin»), the illegal publication of the Shkodra Communist Group appearing in the latter half of 1938. This organ published fragments from the classics of Marxism-Leninism, materials speaking of the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in socialist construction, of the superiority of the Soviet socialist system over capitalism, materials which exposed the Zogite regime, fascism and Italy's enslaving policy toward Albania, and so on. These writings were a positive contribution of great significance to the Albanian communist movement. But, on the other hand, through the «Buletini Jeshil», the Shkodra Communist Group tried to justify theoretically the line they pursued, advancing erroneous theses and maintaining an anti-Marxist stand imposed by Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi

toward the basic problem of setting up a popular antifascist front.

The anti-Marxist views of the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group had their origin in their erroneous concepts of the role of the social classes and strata in the Albanian revolutionary movement and in the situation created in Albania by the enslaving policy of Italian fascism. They said that in Albania there existed no proletariat and bourgeoisie in the real sense of the word, that the handicraftsmen were the most revolutionary part of the population, and that the peasantry would become the allies of the proletariat when the latter emerged as a result of the further capitalist development of the country and became capable of taking up the banner of socialist revolution. In their view, since there was no proletariat and no bourgeoisie, no genuine class struggle could be waged and, as a consequence, conditions for revolution were not yet ripe. They also maintained that the communist movement had come into being in Albania not as an absolute necessity of the working class in order to fight against the capitalists but as a result of foreign influences. Under these circumstances, since this movement was already afoot, the duty of the communists was to educate and train cadres who would eventually start agitation among the broad masses of people, would draw the proletariat behind them and would take the direction of the communist revolution into their own hands. It was with these cadres, theoretically educated and trained, that they intended to form an Albanian communist party.

Failing to grasp the political changes that had taken place in Albania and in the world, the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group were unable to work out a correct revolutionary line compatible with these conditions. They rejected the Comintern's directive to set up a popular front, saying in justification that Albania was a semi-colonial country without distinct classes, without a proletariat, without a communist party, without other political parties, beset with general ignorance, and so on. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group were not opposed to the establishment of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist order, but they wanted to direct the main forces toward the establishment of a proletarian socialist democracy. For this reason, they wanted to proceed along the path of establishing a socialist federation in the Balkans. These views sowed ideological confusion among the members of the group.

The ideological and political disagreements between the two groups regarding the application of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete historical conditions of the country became more acute. This conflict extended also to the field of organization and assumed an unprincipled character.

The War Against Fascist Aggression

Meanwhile, the danger of Italian fascist aggression against Albania became more and more imminent. In January 1939, fascist dictator Benito Mussolini endorsed the plan of the military occupation of Albania. The leaders of the Korça Communist Group were of the opinion that the appropriate conditions had arisen for the formation of a broad front against Italian imperialism. They tried to persuade the communists of the other groups and the patriotic nationalists of the necessity of uniting and collaborating against the imminent fascist aggression. But these efforts were not persistent enough and therefore came to naught.

On the other hand, Zog had no intention whatsoever of organizing resistance against Italian aggression and, least of all, of collaborating with the communists. Up to the last moment he hoped to come to terms with the Italian fascists, making new concessions to them for the purpose of retaining his royal throne. At the same time, he took ruthless repressive measures against the communists. Zog's police detected and arrested most of the members of the Shkodra Communist Group. Under examination and at their trial in January 1939, the leaders of this group, Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, betrayed the activity of the group, the names of their comrades and of some of the members of the Korça Communist Group. Seventy-five persons appeared before the court, accused of attempting to overthrow the regime by force. Eighteen-year-old communist Qemal Stafa, like many of his comrades, maintained a manly stand in court. He declared that he was and would remain a dedicated communist and that communism would save the masses of oppressed workers. The court imposed various sentences on 52 persons.

This was a heavy blow to the Albanian communist movement. It resulted from defective security and the betrayal by the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group who did not consider it a grave blunder to betray their comrades to the police and in court. They pretended that this was a test of the resoluteness of their comrades under torture.

The international situation was worsening. The fascist states had greatly increased their war preparations. Hitlerite Germany had occupied Austria in 1938 and, after the Munich capitulation by the Western powers, occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939 while the fascist troops in Spain were achieving the suppression of the Spanish republican forces.

On March 23, 1939, fascist Italy took the final decision on the military occupation of Albania. Zog tried his utmost to conceal the tension that had arisen in Albanian-Italian relations. Nevertheless, the Albanian people had learned of the sinister plans of fascism at the beginning of April. A wave of indignation swept the whole country.

The Albanian communists, though few in number, became the organizers of powerful anti-fascist demonstrations throughout the country. On the initiative of the communists and patriotic nationalists, centres were set up in Tirana and other cities, to recruit volunteers to offer resistance to fascist aggression. The communists held in jail and in concentration camps asked the government to be sent to the forefront of battle against the aggression. But the organization of popular resistance was sabotaged by Zog and his clique. The Albanian people, who were all up and ready to fight in defense of their freedom and independence, found themselves unarmed, betrayed by the ruling classes, the government and the king, and without assistance and support from abroad. At these critical moments for the destiny of their homeland, the communist groups, split and at loggerheads with one another, were unable to set up a single leadership and mobilize the people for armed action against the aggressors.

On April 7, 1939, Italian fascist troops attacked Albania. Zog and his clique fled the country leaving it to the mercy of fate. The Albanian army, paralysed by the Italian military specialists and their own pro-fascist officers, broke up without offering any resistance. Against all these odds, groups of patriots fought heroically, rifle in hand, against the aggressors in Durrës, Saranda, Shëngjin, Shkodra and Vlora, but the superior forces of the enemy suppressed this resistance. In a few days the country was overrun by the fascists. But the Albanian people were not subdued. They openly manifested their deep hatred against the Italian invaders and never recognized the foreign occupation regime.

The occupation of Albania came as a logical consequence of the aggressive policy of Italian fascism, of the capitulating, anti-national and anti-popular policy pursued by Zog's regime, and of the policy of «non-intervention» of the Western capitalist powers which hastened to recognize this occupation. Only the Soviet Union, loyal to its policy of defending the countries menaced by fascism, raised its voice against this aggression. A wave of indignation and protest broke out among the Albanians abroad. Progressive public opinion in general throughout the world also denounced the Italian aggression against Albania.

4. THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY — HISTORICALLY IMPERATIVE UNDER CONDITIONS OF THE WAR FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The occupation of Albania was part of the general plan the fascist powers had begun to put into effect for establishing their domination of the world. The policy of repeated concessions pursued by Britain, France and the USA had further incited the aggressive aims of fascism. The talks which Britain and France had begun in 1939 with the Soviet Union under pressure from public opinion, were used by these powers as a smokescreen behind which to conceal their attempts to come to terms with Hitler. With a view to gaining time for strengthening its defenses and to avoiding a war on two fronts — against Germany and Japan — the Soviet Union, in 1939, signed a non-aggression treaty with Germany. In the early days of September, after the Hitlerites had attacked Poland, Britain and France, faced with fascist aggression which was being directed against them, also declared war on nazi Germany.

Thus, the Second World War started as a war between the two main imperialist blocs. It was a result of the inevitable contradictions of the capitalist system in the epoch of the general crisis of imperialism. But, on the other hand, the people had risen against the fascist aggression and bondage. Their fight in defense of freedom and independence and to rid themselves of foreign bondage was a just anti-fascist war.

The Establishment of the Fascist Regime of Occupation

The occupation of Albania by Italy began a grim period of fascist enslavement for the Albanian people. The Italian invaders kept the landlord-bourgeois order intact. On the other hand, they took immediate steps to carry out a broad program of political, economic and organizational measures aimed at legalizing and enforcing the occupation regime, at Italianizing the country and plundering its resources with a view to turning it into a base for extending their aggression in the Balkans and toward the east.

The Italian fascists tried to achieve these ends through both demagogy and force. With a view to concealing the annexation, they called together a «Constituent Assembly» which proclaimed the «personal union» of Albania with Italy, offered the crown of Albania to the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III, and appointed a puppet Albanian Government headed by big landowner Shefqet Verlaci. In reality, Albania was turned into a province of the Italian Empire under the fascist dictatorship. The Italian «Viceroy» (Luogotenente) exercised all state power on behalf of and in the name of the king, carrying out to the letter the orders of the Rome Government. The puppet Albanian Government was simply an intermediary organ transmitting the will of fascist dictator Mussolini and the viceroy. The Albanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs was closed. Its functions were turned over to the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The other Ministries were, in fact, directed by the Italian «advisers». The Albanian armed forces became part of the Imperial Army and took their orders from the Italian headquarters. The Convention on the Equality of Civil and Political Rights in Albania between Italian and Albanian Citizens was accompanied with the influx of tens of thousands of Italian colonists (workers, farmers, specialists, teachers, entrepreneurs, merchants, employees, etc.). These, together with the occupation troops, made up the force which aimed, 'inter alia', at the complete colonization and fascistization of the country.

On the one hand, the Italian invaders tried to preserve the semblance of an Albanian State while, on the other, they officially proclaimed Italy and Albania as a «single territory». There was an unimpeded inflow of Italian capital into Albania. The Italian capitalists became the absolute masters of the economy of the country, turning it wholly into a base for raw materials and a closed market for their goods.

The Italian Government made feverish preparations to transform Albania into a military base for aggression against the neighboring Balkan countries. The building of new strategic roads, barracks, airfields, fortifications, etc. served this purpose.

In its policy of occupying Albania and turning it into a province of Italy, Mussolini's government had the full support of the reactionary ruling classes of the country. As far back as 1939, fascist Italy had set up a powerful agency among these classes and among the ranks of the bourgeois political exiles which served it faithfully in the enslavement of the Albanian people. Tending to place their property interests above those of the nation, the Albanian landed gentry in general maintained the same attitude. They had always maintained close relations with the foreign rulers who could ensure their class privileges. As traditional political turncoats, the landed gentry had no difficulty in abandoning Zog and linking up with the

Italian invaders and supporting their policy in Albania since Italian fascism championed their class interests. Similar interests threw the tribal chieftains into the lap of fascism, too. The Italian invaders managed to take advantage of the ignorance of these patriarchal survivals and fondle their ambitions, thus making them blind tools of fascism in Albania.

The interests of the country were betrayed also by the Albanian reactionary bourgeoisie, the greatest part of which was made up of the upper merchant bourgeoisie. They had long given up fighting in defense of the freedom and independence of the country, and had become a counter-revolutionary and anti-national force. The Italian invasion promoted the development of trade. The Albanian upper merchants together with the landed gentry and the high fascist functionaries became intermediaries and collaborators of the Italian monopolies in exploiting the Albanian market. Many of the local industrialists who had their factories closed because of difficulties created by Italian competition became traders and accumulated considerable wealth. Thus, the grand bourgeoisie became an appendage of the occupationists. The reactionary clergy, too, became a tool in the hands of fascism. The invaders appointed representatives of these classes and social strata to high posts in the fascist administration, hoping in that way to ensure for themselves a quiet domination over Albania.

The consequences of the establishment of the fascist regime were very soon felt by the Albanian people who lost all their freedom and national independence. Right from the start hundreds of Albanian patriots were confined in jails and deported to concentration camps in Italy. The fascists set up a powerful police apparatus in order to mop up «suspects and persons potentially dangerous to the regime». The employees were forced to swear allegiance to the king or lose their jobs. Fascist law created an atmosphere of terror and insecurity throughout the land.

On the other hand, the illusory improvement of the economic situation brought about by the temporary elimination of unemployment through large construction schemes, mainly of military character, and through dumping cheap Italian commodities on the market, ended very soon in fiasco. Workshops of Albanian handicrafts closed door one after another, because they could not compete with Italian industry. Ruin of the handicraftsmen became general. Albanian workers were forced to work ten hours a day for wages which, with the constant rise of prices, could provide only for a hand to mouth existence. Discrimination between Albanian and Italian workers after the occupation became even more blatant. There was no protection or labor insurance for Albanian workers. The Italian enterprises had the right to extend the workday whenever they judged their work to be of an extraordinary and essential nature.

The systematic plunder by the invaders also affected the interests of the peasantry. Compulsory delivery of agricultural products at very low prices to capitalist firms, the expropriation of small farmers by the Italian banks, and the confiscation of thousands of hectares of land for military needs, deepened the process of impoverishment of the masses of the peasantry.

The Beginnings of the National-liberation Movement. On the Order of the Day: The Union of the Communists

The loss of freedom and national independence shook the Albanian people, deeply affected their traditional sentiments of ardent love of country and national pride. Their hatred toward the invaders grew from day to day. Their resentment was expressed in various ways: in sabotaging all plans of Italianizing and fascistizing the Albanian people, in refusing to enrol in the fascist party and other fascist organizations, in resisting the laws of the occupation regime, etc. The workers and school youth were outstanding in this resistance.

Under Italian occupation, the workers' movement assumed a pronounced anti-fascist political character. Factories and large work-sites became hotbeds of opposition against the capitalist exploiters and the invaders. Frequent strikes took place in various cities. The workers went on strike not only for economic claims but also to express their indignation and to sabotage production for the invaders.

Secondary schools became centres of a fiery movement against fascism. Even before occupation, the school youth had stood out for their patriotic and democratic sentiments. Under the influence and guidance of the communist groups, they had become resolute fighters against Zog's regime, against obscurantism, and against fascism. In addition, they had become the bearers of communist and revolutionary democratic ideas to the masses. After occupation, the school youth were among the first to express firmly their hatred toward the fascist invaders. They opposed and sabotaged the spread of fascist culture, leading demonstrations and protests against fascism, propagating ideas of militant patriotism and communism. In this respect, the school youth served as a sound support of the communist and the anti-fascist movement in general.

The new situation created after occupation raised the fundamental task of arousing all the people in struggle to frustrate the fascist plan of Italianizing and plundering the country, to free Albania and to regain national independence.

The accomplishment of this task called for a revolutionary leadership to work out the political platform of

the anti-fascist war, to mobilize and organize the people for this struggle.

A leadership of this kind was lacking. The communist groups were the only political organizations concerned about the destiny of the homeland and people in those critical days. These groups maintained a resolute stand against the regime of occupation. But discord prevented them from working out a common line for the liberation struggle, for linking up with the popular masses and becoming their leadership.

The necessity for the uniting of these groups and the creation of a single communist party was a matter of urgency. The accomplishment of this task was not easy. It was necessary to overcome major obstacles in order to remove all disagreements and divisions, which were nurtured especially by their leaders, although the need for unity was already felt by the majority of the communists.

To achieve the union of communist forces and organize the anti-fascist struggle, the old course of negotiations among the leaders was pursued. The two opposing views regarding the character of the war again came to grips at these negotiations. The leaders of the Korça Communist Group insisted on organizing a national-liberation war with the participation of all the classes and social strata who were willing to fight against the foreign invaders. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group and other organizations, who had not given up their sectarian stand, adapted their old views to the new situation. They were of the opinion that, as a result of the Italian occupation, Albania was embarking on the road to a speedy capitalist development. Consequently, the growth of the working class would create the basis for a socialist revolution!

The negotiations between the leaders of the Korça and Shkodra Communist Groups led to the formation, in the fall of 1939, of a so-called joint «Central Committee» made up of an equal number of members, two from each group. This agreement was nothing but a «social democratic compromise».[1] It did not envisage the fusion of the two groups into a single organization. The groups still remained separated, each preserving its own views and not purging its ranks of anti-Marxist elements. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group accepted only the expulsion of Trotskyite Niko Xoxi. Built on such weak foundations, this «union» from above remained altogether formal.

While the negotiations among the leaders of the communist groups dragged along for months, the popular anti-fascist movement was growing all over the country. The communists stood at the head of this movement. After the occupation of the country, a radical change had taken place in their understanding. The rank and file members of the communist groups were becoming more and more aware that unity could not be achieved through sterile talks among chiefs but through a common struggle against the fascist invaders. This gradually pushed the political and ideological differences into the background. The authority and influence of the chiefs upon the rank and file of the groups had declined. On their own initiative, the communists threw themselves into struggle against the foreign occupiers and became agitators for the liberation war. On Flag Day, November 28, 1939, they led anti-fascist mass demonstrations in the principal cities of the country. The demonstrations were conducted under the slogans: «Long live free Albania!», «Liberty or death!». The communists were the inspirers and leaders of the anti-fascist movement of the workers and the school youth.

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[1] Resolution of the Meeting of Communist Groups, November 1941. Principal Documents of the Party of Labor of Albania, Tirana, 1960, Vol. I, p. 14.

> «At war and at grips with the invaders and Quislings, united for a single purpose: the liberation of the country from the invaders, the sound communists at the grass roots of the various groups were forging links with one another in blood, forgetting their squabbles and feuds, crystallizing out a correct communist line, and demanding union into a single party as a 'conditio sine qua non' for organizing and guiding the war of liberation».[1]

The successes scored by the communists in organizing the anti-fascist movement during the early months after the occupation of the country served as an encouragement for the Korça Communist Group to strengthen and extend its field of activity to the other districts of the country and to put an end to the localism which had been an obstacle. At the beginning of 1940, it organized a branch in Tirana. Enver Hoxha was assigned to the leadership of this branch.

Enver Hoxha Enver Hoxha was born on October 16, 1908 in Gjirokastra. The early years of his life coincided with a very critical period for the country when foreign invaders, who followed in succession, burnt and laid waste whole districts, committed mass murders of the population and spread misery everywhere. Life taught him to hate the enemies of the country and, although still young, to join the 1924 democratic movement.

At the Korça Lyceum, from which he graduated in 1930, Enver Hoxha experienced for the first time the brutality of the Zogite authorities and their jail for having organized with his comrades a rally of protest against thefts perpetrated at the expense of the student body.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania. The 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, Tirana, 1950, p. 59.

He went to France to pursue his higher studies. His pronounced democratic propensities made Enver Hoxha a sympathizer of the French communist movement. In Paris he established connections with the editorial board of «L'Humanité», organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, to which he contributed materials denouncing Zog's regime in Albania.

When his scholarship was discontinued, Enver Hoxha was obliged to go to Belgium where he worked for a period at the Albanian Consulate in Brussels and continued his studies at the same time. But Zog's agents abroad detected his anti-Zog activity. He was dismissed from his job and was obliged to return to Albania in 1936.

By this time, Enver Hoxha had become a communist and, as such, devoted himself to the struggle to liberate the people. The oath he took at the grave of patriot Bajo Topulli in Gjirokastra that he and all the youth would fight for «a better Albania», for «the welfare of the country», for «the real unification of the nation» was a program of action for him.

Enver Hoxha began his revolutionary activity in his home country as a teacher first at the Tirana Gymnasium and then at the Korça Lyceum. He joined the Korça Communist Group and became one of its most active members. He made skilful use of the school platform in order to impart democratic and communist ideas to the students. He became also one of the principal educators of the «Rinia Korçare» (= «Korça Youth») out-of-school organization and an indefatigable militant for the unity of the Albanian communist movement.

On the eve of the fascist occupation Enver Hoxha, together with the other comrades of the group, worked with might and main to organize popular resistance. He kept up these efforts also after the invasion of the country. His revolutionary activity brought him under the eye of the fascist invaders and they dismissed him from his job as an «anti-regime element». The leadership of the Korça Communist Group decided to send him to Tirana, charging him with the task of extending the activity of the group on a sound basis, by organizing the anti-fascist movement in the capital and other districts of the country.

Under Enver Hoxha's leadership, the Tirana branch became an important centre of the communist and anti-fascist movement in the capital.

Appreciating the determination of the rank and file of the communist groups to fight against fascism and their ardent desire for the union of the communist movement and the founding of a communist party, Enver Hoxha carried on with them, patiently and wisely, tireless work of clarification and organization. At the same time he established connections with patriotic nationalists who hated the fascist invaders and were willing to fight against them.

Further Difficulties on the Road to Unity. The «Youth» Group

Precisely at the time when the union of groups and the creation of a single communist party had become imperative, further difficulties arose to hinder this purpose. A faction which had begun to form in the ranks of the Korça Communist Group before the occupation of the country emerged as a separate group in February 1940. Eventually it assumed the name the **«Youth» Group.** The emergence of this new group had been encouraged by the split and other shortcomings in the communist movement, factors which favored the activity of anti-Marxist elements.

The group was headed by Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, elements of pronounced Trotskyite and anarchist inclinations. Taking advantage of the lack of sound connections between the Korça Communist Group and its organizations in Tirana, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte had succeeded in persuading some members whom they had recruited that the leaders of the Korça Communist Group were incapable of directing the communist movement and that their ideological views and political line were erroneous. They were soon able to swell the ranks of their faction with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origin among whom anti-Marxist views, borrowed partly from those of the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group, struck root at once. The «Youth» Group set up branches in the principal cities of the country, even in Korça where it took advantage of the dissolution of the cells which had caused discontent and confusion among some of the communists.

The «Youth» Group began to violate openly the joint decisions of the «Central Committee». The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group, thinking that these factionists acted in line with instructions from the Korça Communist Group with which they were formally associated, accused them of insincerity and disloyalty. They used this as a pretext to withdraw from the «Central Committee» thus bringing about its dissolution.

This is how the 1939 autumn agreement was annulled. Instead of achieving closer contact and unity, the gap between these groups became deeper. The «Youth» Group began open struggle against the Korça Communist Group and established connections with the Shkodra Communist Group. The minor communist organizations fused gradually into three principal communist groups.

The leadership of the «Youth» Group issued an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform of its own. It held that in Albania there was no proletariat, no class struggle and, therefore, no basis existed for the formation of a communist party, that the peasants were conservative, reactionary, and could not become the ally of the working class. They had adopted the Trotskyite theory of educating and preserving cadres. They considered connections and work with the masses as dangerous, for that would endanger the cadres!

The political views of the chiefs of this group were thoroughly mistaken and dangerous to the communist and anti-fascist movement. Like Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, they thought that the fascist invasion would bring about the development of capitalism, the growth of the proletariat, and the consolidation of the relations between the Albanian and Italian working classes. Thus class struggle would develop, creating favorable conditions for founding a communist party to lead the struggle for socialism. They did not grasp the reasons which obliged the Soviet Union to sign the non-aggression treaty with Germany, or the aim of this treaty, and assessed it as harmful to the anti-fascist struggle of the people.

The chiefs of the «Youth» Group and some of their followers degenerated into a sect of anarchists.

The simultaneous emergence of the «Zjarri» (= «Fire») Group in Albania added greatly to the confusion created by the formation of the «Youth» Group. Trotskyite Andrea Zisi, having done his utmost to dissuade the Albanian anti-fascist youth residing in Athens from coming to their native land to fight the fascist aggressors, returned to Albania, bent on sabotaging the communist and anti-fascist movement. In Korça he formed a «Central Committee» and in both Tirana and Vlora a «Regional Committee». The whole work of the group was concentrated on «educating» its members.

Andrea Zisi had hatched up a new «theory» according to which the fascist stronghold should be taken from within and, therefore, instead of fighting the fascists openly, the communists should merge with them in their political and organizational apparatus. Bedri Spahiu incited a few communist officers to adopt these views, too.

The Stand of the Communists and the Albanian People Toward Fascist Aggression Against the Neighboring Peoples

In June 1940, when the sound communists of the various groups were fighting against fascism and against the Trotskyites for unification of the Albanian communist movement, Italy entered the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany. The Italian fascists tried to use the Albanians as cannon fodder. Starting from Albania, the Italian troops attacked Greece on October 28, 1940. Following a number of initial successes, they were compelled to retreat under the blows of the Greek army, withdrawing from Korça in November, and from Gjirokastra at the beginning of December 1940.

The Greek-Italian War brought further suffering and devastation to the Albanian people. Far from supporting the fascist aggression against Greece, the Albanian people did what they could to help the fraternal Greek people in their war of liberation. The communists launched a wide propaganda campaign to expose the imperialist and fascist schemes, and to lay bare the rottenness of the fascist regime. They issued a call to the Albanian soldiers and militiamen who had been recruited by force to desert the front, and to the youth not to report to the recruiting centres but to take to the mountains. The work of communists and anti-fascist patriots completely frustrated the fascist plan of military and «civil» mobilization of the Albanians. The Albanian soldiers forced to go to the Greek front by the Italian fascists refused to fight and deserted 'en masse'. Sabotaging the fascist military machine behind the lines took place more frequently. Since Italian fascism was a common enemy, the population of the districts occupied by Greek forces gave the latter all the assistance they could. But the Greek Government maintained an openly chauvinistic attitude toward the Albanian people. It hindered militant unity between the Albanians and Greeks against the fascist invaders and tried to carry out the old plans of the chauvinistic Greek bourgeoisie to annex Korça and Gjirokastra.

The Korça communists, too, came up against this hostile attitude of the Greek occupation authorities. As soon as the Italian troops withdrew, the communists set up the «Committee for Defense of the City» and formed a small armed detachment of communists and sympathizers of the group to maintain law and order. A conflict arose at the first contact between the committee and the Greek military authorities on the status of Greek occupation. The committee rejected the Athens demand that the coming of Greek troops should be considered as «the liberation of the Greek city of Korça». The Greeks, on their part, rejected the committee's proposal to form a number of Albanian battalions to fight under their own national flag against the Italian invaders. They dispersed the committee. On Independence Day, November 28, 1940, the communists organized a major rally in the city of Korça with a view to raising the morale of the population and to demonstrating to the Greek Government that the Korça people, like all the rest of the Albanian people, hated the Italian fascists but would not accept the claims of the Greek chauvinists to Albanian territory.

The Greek occupation of the southern regions of Albania did not last long. The events that took place in the spring of 1941 totally changed the situation in the Balkans. Having occupied Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France, Hitlerite Germany marched its troops into Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria, and in

April 1941 assaulted Yugoslavia and Greece. In a few days the German army occupied these countries and made it possible for the Italian troops to re-occupy South Albania and enter Greece.

The Greek-Italian War, during which Albania was turned into a battlefield, had important consequences here. The heavy losses in lives, the great material damage and the consolidation of the colonialist plundering policy of the invaders greatly aggravated the plight of the masses of the people. The defeats suffered by the Italians in this war clearly revealed the rottenness of Italian fascism and completely discredited it in the eyes of the Albanian people.

Italy extended its zone of occupation, creating «Great Albania» which included the piece of Albanian territory which had been turned over to Serbia by the Conference of Ambassadors of the Big Powers held in London in 1913. In order to make their positions secure in the Balkans, the German and Italian fascist invaders fomented the old national and chauvinistic quarrels of the reactionary classes of the Balkan countries. But the communists and the people as a whole did not fall into the trap of fascist demagogy. They exposed the provocative policy of «Great Albania» and pursued the course of intensifying the war against the fascist invaders and of strengthening the collaboration with the neighboring peoples in their liberation struggle against their common enemy, relying on the right of self-determination of the peoples.

The Unity of the Communists in Battle Against Fascism

The fascist regime in Albania had been dealt a hard blow. It was beset with a political crisis which continually worsened, one expression of which was its inability to suppress the popular anti-fascist movement. In the spring of 1941, a

group of freedom fighters led by patriot Myslim Peza had begun to carry out armed operations against the fascist invaders. The latter retaliated by undertaking their first mopping up operation in Peza. Mass desertions began from the ranks of the Albanian detachments. In May, popular resentment toward the foreign oppressors was expressed by a notable event. In the centre of Tirana, young Vasil Laçi fired a pistol shot at the King of Italy Victor Emmanuel III, who had come on a visit to Albania.

The revolutionary situation was ripening in Albania. The fascist invaders increased their measures of repression. They arrested and jailed thousands of patriots. Part of them, in order to escape police persecution or conscription for military service, took to the mountains and harassed the enemy singly or in small armed groups.

Assessing the importance of the Peza patriotic freedom fighters, Enver Hoxha and his comrades decided to send communists to give this group an organized character and uplift the political consciousness of its fighters. In talks conducted between Enver Hoxha and Myslim Peza, the latter gladly accepted the proposal to have communists in his group.

By taking to the mountains in order to organize and extend the national-liberation movement, the communists marked the beginning of a new stage in their activity. The communists took the initiative and tried to organize the armed anti-fascist movement in the other regions of the country as well.

Their propaganda work among the masses was assuming wide proportions. In addition to individual agitation, a role of significance was played in the communications of the communists with the masses by the leaflets and proclamations distributed, at first, in the cities and, later, in the rural areas. But some of these writings carried incorrect political slogans like «For a Soviet Albania!», «For Communist Albania!», «For the Organization of an Albanian Red Army!», which had their origin in a wrong assessment of the conditions existing in Albania.

At this time, the development of the movement and the persistent demand of the communists for unity prompted the Korça and Shkodra Communist Groups to make a new attempt to establish collaboration. For the sake of internal peace and with a view to coordinating their anti-fascist activities, the two sides set up a «Committee of Arbitration» as a first step toward complete union. But this attempt did not yield satisfactory results either.

The Tirana branch of the Korça Communist Group, on its part, had carried on a wide range of activities among the ranks of the communists and patriotic nationalists and had established sound connections with them. Inspired by his ardent desire to achieve as soon as possible the unity of the Albanian communists into a single party, Enver Hoxha had not recoiled before the new difficulties that had arisen from the factionalist work of the «Youth» and «Zjarri» groups. He found a common language with the outstanding activists of the Shkodra Communist Group Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa. Under Enver Hoxha's lead, the Tirana branch became gradually the real organizing centre for the entire communist and anti-fascist movement in Albania. Dedicated communists of the different groups had united around this branch. They constituted the basis of the coming communist party.

While the anti-fascist resistance of the Albanian people was growing from day to day and a powerful national-liberation movement led by the communists had begun to develop also in the other countries occupied by the fascists, an event of significance took place which brought about a radical change in the international political situation. After having boosted its military potential by exploiting the economic and manpower resources of the enslaved countries and of its satellites and allies, Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. German imperialism had decided to annihilate the first socialist state. Intoxicated by the easy victories he had scored in Western Europe and in the Balkans, Hitler hoped to score a quick victory in the USSR.

Led by the Communist Party headed by J. V. Stalin, the Soviet people rose in a body to wage their Great Patriotic War in defense of the freedom and independence of their socialist homeland. This just war opened a new stage in the Second World War, strengthened the liberation, anti-fascist character of the struggle of peoples against the fascist bloc, and laid the foundations for the unification of all the anti-fascist forces of the world into a single front.

The war between the Soviet Union and Hitlerite Germany was a life and death struggle between socialism and fascism. The exploited masses the world over were interested in the victory of the Soviet Union over international fascist reaction. The people in countries under bondage were right in considering the Soviet Union as the main guarantee for the anti-fascist war to be carried through to final victory, to their liberation from fascist domination. Faced with a dangerous enemy like Hitlerite Germany, and under the growing pressure of their people who demanded a powerful anti-fascist coalition, the governments of the two biggest capitalist countries — Britain and the USA — formed an alliance with the Soviet Union. This frustrated Hitler's plan of isolating the Land of the Soviets. The main strength of this big anti-fascist coalition lay in the Soviet Union without which no victory over the enemy was possible.

The treacherous fascist assault on the Soviet people and the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War had deep repercussions in Albania. While the Italian invaders, who had also declared war on the Soviet Union, and the home reactionaries, intoxicated by the preliminary successes of the nazis, launched a frenzied anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, the broad masses of Albanian patriots were indignant at the Hitlerite aggression.

The attachment the Albanian patriots felt for the Soviet Union had its own historical background. In their age-long struggle against foreign oppressors, the Albanian people had almost always been alone, without allies. The capitalist states had either maintained an openly hostile attitude toward them or had posed as «friends» for the purpose of stabbing them in the back and placing them under their control. Only the Soviet Union had defended the rights of Albania and had raised its voice against the injustices perpetrated against her. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against fascism, the Albanian people had, for the first time in their history, a powerful and sincere friend and ally and, like all the other oppressed peoples, a sure guarantee of the inevitable destruction of the fascist bloc.

> «Our struggle», Enver Hoxha said, «did not begin after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, but after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, our people felt that the blood they shed would not be shed in vain».[1]

Under the new circumstances created by the formation of the anti-fascist coalition of peoples with the Soviet Union as its vanguard, a major historical responsibility devolved upon the Albanian communists, namely, to provide, as soon as possible, a political leadership for the Albanian people by forming a communist party as a fundamental condition for organizing, directing and intensifying the anti-fascist national-liberation war. There was no other way out, and none but the communists could take upon themselves such a task under the specific historical conditions of Albania. The sound internationalist communists of the groups became well aware of this. Regardless of the ideological differences existing among them, the Albanian communists were united by the boundless affection they all nurtured for their country and for the Soviet Union. This became a very important factor in the closing of the ranks and the development of collaboration among them. Thus, a new stage began also for the communist movement itself. Now

> «. . . more than ever was felt, especially at the grass roots, the great harm that was caused to the communist movement by the sterile squabbles between the groups, and the pressing need to put an end to these conflicts in order to achieve the necessary conditions for the unity of the movement in Albania».[1]

Immediately, the fighting against fascism, which was to unite the communists, assumed wide proportions. A good number of the members of all the groups were linked with one another in fighting operations against the invaders and traitors to the country. The desire to fight of the rank and file communists after the Hitlerite aggression against the USSR could not be opposed even by the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group who had expressed their view that «the communists should fight when the Soviet Union entered the Second World War». Now the main role in the Shkodra Communist Group was played by Qemal Stafa and Vasil Shanto who had begun to collaborate with Enver Hoxha. The line of anti-fascist national-liberation war had become predominant in this group. The instructions issued to the group members at the time contained, among others, such exhortations as «As people who love your country, integrate with the masses, win their sympathy, come to terms with them and prepare them for an armed national movement».[1]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech at the Session of the Leadership of the General National-liberation Council, April 15, 1944, Minutes of the Meeting. Central Archives of the Party.

[1] Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the Party of Labor of Albania, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

Their common political line brought the Shkodra Communist Group close to that of Korça and made possible the conclusion, in August 1941, of the agreement to collaborate in and organize together a number of anti-fascist operations. Later the «Youth» Group, too, joined this agreement, while the «Zjarri» Group did not respond to the call for collaboration. Among the most important of the joint anti-fascist operations of the groups was the mass anti-fascist rally in Tirana on October 28, 1941, the anniversary of the fascist celebration of the «March on Rome». Broad masses of the people of the capital took part in it. Enver Hoxha was the chief organizer of this demonstration. The fascists retaliated fiercely. Hunted by the fascists, Enver Hoxha was obliged to resort to clandestinity. The fascist authorities passed a death sentence on him 'in absentia'. The Tirana demonstration was the touchstone for the unity of the Albanian communists. It showed the strength of this unity in the heat of battle against fascism as well as its importance in mobilizing the popular masses for the national-liberation movement.

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[1] Instructions issued by the Shkodra Communist Group to its members. Central Archives of the Party.

The Tirana demonstration was followed by another big rally in Korça on November 8, 1941, also organized by the communist groups to protest against the mass arrests the fascists had made in the capital. It resulted in a bloody encounter with the carabinieri and fascist police. It was there that Koci Bako, a veteran member of the Korça Communist Group, was killed.

The political success of these demonstrations exerted a great influence on public opinion in the country. They further enhanced the name of the communists among the people. Their success, on the other hand, greatly embarrassed the fascist occupation authorities. They were given to understand that they had to deal with an opponent who was growing stronger, consolidating and becoming ever more of a menace to them.

The struggle of the Albanian communists themselves created, at last, favorable conditions for founding their party. Among the ranks of the communist groups there had sprung up professional revolutionary cadres who had been able to rise above the disputes among the groups, had definitely embraced the line of an uncompromising war against the fascist invaders and traitors to the country, and had striven to unify the Albanian communist movement on this basis. It was these cadres who, through their tireless efforts, prepared the ideological and organizational framework of the Albanian Communist Party.

The anti-fascist war waged by the communists of the various groups shook the very foundations of the sectarianism and of the group spirit, which had prevailed up to that time. This struggle and their common ideology became the decisive factors which led to the 1941 August agreement to organize a meeting of representatives of all the principal communist groups which would take up the question of amalgamating these groups and founding the Communist Party of Albania.

5. THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

The Meeting of the Communist Groups to found the Party was held in secrecy in Tirana from 8th to 14th November, 1941. It was attended by 15 persons. Among them were Enver Hoxha, Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, Pilo Peristeri and others.

The main problem for which the meeting had been called was solved in principle right at the start. On November 8th, the historic decision was taken to merge the groups and found the **Communist Party of Albania** (CPA).

The meeting heard the reports on the activity of each group, pointed out the successes and shortcomings of the communist movement in Albania and took up for discussion the vital problems which faced the Party.

The majority of the representatives expressed their determination to put an end to the divisions and build a single Marxist-Leninist party based on a sound organizational and ideological unity and a militant political line.

Only Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, the principal leaders and representatives of the «Youth» Group, tried to obstruct the attainment of this objective. They did not dare express themselves openly against the union of the communist groups, for a union of this kind was persistently demanded from the rank and file. But they advanced and defended the familiar Trotskyite views of their group and of the other traitors to Marxism-Leninism. They tried to prove especially «the lack of a proletariat», the «reactionary and conservative nature of the peasantry», the «lack of trained cadres», the «danger to which the cadres were exposed by open propaganda and agitation against fascism», the «vain hope of relying on the aid and support of the Soviet Union». By these arguments they aimed at creating the belief that the formation of a single communist party would be only a formal thing and that the party would never succeed in becoming the leader of the Albanian people and of directing the struggle for national liberation.

Enver Hoxha, supported by Qemal Stafa and other participants at the meeting who stood on Marxist-Leninist positions waged a principled struggle against these liquidatory theses. When they saw themselves beaten, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte agreed in a formal way to submit to the majority and pledged their word that they would abide by the decisions of the meeting.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups defined the ideological and organizational bases of the Party and worked out the fundamental questions of its general line for the period of the National-liberation War.

A Provisional Central Committee composed of seven persons was elected to lead the Party. Enver Hoxha was charged with heading it though no secretary was appointed.

A stipulation approved was that none of the former principal leaders (chairmen and assistant chairmen) of the groups would be elected to the leadership. This was not the result of a simple agreement but an exigency of the development of the communist and revolutionary movement. Affected by a pronounced group spirit, the group leaders had long been a stumbling-block to the union of the Albanian communists into a single party and had shown themselves incapable of directing the communists and revolutionary masses.

The Ideological and Organizational Bases of the Party

The meeting denounced the social-democratic views on the party of the working class which Llazar Fundo tried to disseminate in Albania; it exposed the entirely Trotskyite line and activity of the «Zjarri» Group, which tried to legalize itself as «the Albanian Communist Party», and decided without reservation that the Communist Party of Albania would be organized and consolidated as a party of the new type:

> «The party should not be a party of the old type, a party similar to that of the Second Social-democrat International infested with decay, inactivity, nepotism, factionalism and betrayal of the interests of the working class. We want a party capable of leading the working class in battle to victory. . . .»[1]

The meeting denounced all the erroneous views alien to Marxist-Leninist ideology which had existed among the ranks of the communist groups. The «theory of cadres» was particularly stigmatized as defeatist and opportunist, for it isolated the communists from the masses, kept them as a sect trailing behind the masses, and would finally lead to the dissolution of the party.

Marxism-Leninism was adopted as the vanguard theory which would guide the party in working out its program and in all its activity. In this connection the task was set:

> «We should strive energetically to uplift the cadres ideologically, theoretically and politically by imparting to them the Marxist-Leninist theory. . . .»[2]

The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of purging all the literature of the communist groups of anti-Marxist, Trotskyite and anarchist material and of organizing the publication in Albanian, the distribution and study of the «History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course» as well as of a number of works by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilich Lenin and Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

Thus, right from the start, the Communist Party of Albania raised to a higher level the importance of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the communist understanding of its members as a force imparting life and vigor, opening up prospects and pointing the way to victory to the workers' and the liberation movements of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The meeting decided to put an end once for all to the rotten organizational structure of the communist groups, to their loose discipline, their spirit of factionalism and groupism, and to set up a party on a sound Marxist-Leninist organizational basis. Sound organization was considered as the principal means of making the party indestructible and of ensuring the application of its political line.

The first task assigned to the leaders of the communist groups was to turn all the links they had with their members over to the Provisional Central Committee. Thenceforth, the communists were obliged to carry out only the organizational norms defined by the meeting and the Central Committee based on the principle of democratic centralism which is the fundamental organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Directives were issued to replace, as soon as possible, the old narrow cells of two or three persons with new cells. These would include the former members of the groups after their ranks had been purged of persons who had shown pronounced trends of sectarianism, opportunism and groupism. Besides the cells, Regional Party Committees would be set up. Strong ties should exist between the committees and cells. The meeting demanded that the cells show more initiative, merge with the broad masses of towns and countryside, and that the committees continually assist them and supervise their activities.

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[1] Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

At the same time it was deemed necessary to introduce new blood, to increase the ranks of the Party with new members, with resolute fighters, workers and poor peasants, eliminating fear and sectarianism in admitting them to membership.

For admission to membership in the party the meeting approved V. I. Lenin's familiar formula which it put in these terms:

> «Anyone can become a member of the party if he accepts the program of the party, takes part in a party organization (cell) and pays his dues».[1]

Special attention was attached to the unity and discipline of the Party:

> «Without steel-like party discipline and unity, our Party which has a great number of enemies, will not be able to lead the struggle with success».[2]

To ensure sound unity and strict discipline the communists were called upon to keep their eyes open and not tolerate the infiltration into the Party ranks of careerist, trouble-making elements of a pronounced petty-bourgeois spirit who cannot accept discipline and who create favorable ground for anti-Party activity. At the same time, the Party organizations were charged with the task of expelling from their ranks without hesitation anyone manifesting anti-Marxist, opportunist and liquidatory trends. It was stressed that nepotism, groupism, factionalism and lack of discipline had no place in the Party.

A basic problem which the meeting took up for discussion and placed on the order of the day was that of linking the Party with the masses. It was persistently demanded that the malady of groupism should be wiped out without fail.

The meeting advised the communists never to forget J. V. Stalin's words:

> «If they do not detach themselves from the people, from the mother who has given them birth, the communists will be invincible».

In order to link themselves with the broad masses of the urban and rural areas, with the youth and the women, in order to persuade them of the correctness of the Party's political line, the meeting pointed out this road to the communists: to carry out militant and intensive propaganda and agitation work among all strata of the people, to carry out as many active political and combative activities as possible; to accompany Party work of political enlightenment and political and fighting activity with the organization of the masses.

In order to ensure sound links with the masses, the meeting called for a change in the work with the youth and women, for an end to sluggishness, sectarianism and other blunders the groups had committed in this regard. The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of setting up without delay an organization of the communist youth through which all the Albanian youth would be mobilized for the anti-fascist struggle. While among women, the task was to do careful work, to see that women workers were enrolled in the Party and that the female population were mobilized for the liberation struggle.

The meeting attached special attention also to the preservation of the Party from its enemies who would do their utmost to destroy it. The Italian fascist invaders and their Albanian lackeys would launch their main attack on the Communist Party of Albania rather than on the groups.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

They were backed up in this by the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group and the renegades from communism. Therefore, the meeting called on the Party members to display high vigilance, to keep Party secrets so as to accustom the Party to work in complete clandestinity. In this connection the meeting sharply condemned the views of certain opportunists and traitors among group members who held that, under torture by the police or carabinieri, a communist might confess without necessarily committing treason. These were stigmatized as views alien to the party of the proletariat which had to be eliminated mercilessly.

Demanding that the communists maintain strict secrecy, the meeting, at the same time, drew attention to the need to understand this correctly, and not to make it a reason to limit their activity with the masses:

> «Our secrecy is to safeguard the organization from the enemy, not to hide behind a screen and shut ourselves up in our own shell.»[1]

The Political Line for the National-liberation War

The political line of the Party was embodied in the political tasks which the Meeting of the Communist Groups worked out. The strategic aim of the Party for the historical period which the country was passing through was expressed in these terms:

> **«To fight for the national independence of the Albanian people and for a people's democratic government in an Albania free from fascism.»**[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 21.

[2] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

This strategic objective was dictated by the basic antagonistic contradiction existing at the time in Albania which demanded an urgent solution in order to clear the way for national, social, economic and cultural development, namely, the contradiction between the people and the fascist invaders. Another contradiction existed also between the masses of the people and the exploiting classes, but at that time this was of second importance. Under the concrete conditions, this contradiction could not be solved apart from the primary antagonistic contradiction because the landlords, chieftains and the reactionary bourgeoisie constituted the social support of the invaders in our country. The interests of the principal exploiting classes of the country were closely bound to those of the fascist invaders. Therefore, the attainment of the strategic objective of the Party could not but affect the interests of these classes, of these tools of the foreign enslavers as well.

The Italian fascists were the plenipotentiary rulers in Albania and, as a consequence, they were also the **principal enemies** of the Albanian people at the time. Further, all those who had sided with the invaders and had served them to oppress the Albanian people were stigmatized as traitors, as tools of fascism, and war was declared against them, the same as against the invaders.

The principal force and those most interested in attaining this strategic objective were the **workers and peasants** who bore the main brunt of the fascist oppression. Therefore, the Party set as one of its most important tasks

> «to set up military units and spread them among the masses of workers in urban and rural areas».[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 22.

The non-worker patriotic strata were also interested in ensuring national independence. Therefore, the Party could not afford to neglect these strata, and it set down the rule of carrying on ceaseless work in order to mobilize them in the national-liberation movement.

> **«. . . Unite with all the nationalists[1] who really want a free Albania, with all the honest Albanians who want to fight against fascism».[2]**

With this was launched the idea of the **National-liberation Front,** an idea which would be worked out in a more definite and concrete form during the development of the war.

Anticipating that the fascist invaders and local reaction would resort to all means and methods to prevent the militant unity of the Albanian people, the Meeting of the Communist Groups called for the exposure and defeat of all the manoeuvres of the Italian fascists and of the Quisling government to disrupt the national-liberation front of the Albanian people.

When the Communist Party of Albania was founded, there was not a single anti-fascist political party which could represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, or of any other class or stratum of the population. Nevertheless, in

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[1] **Nationalist** was the usual name for the patriots who loved their country and wanted its liberation from the foreign yoke but nurtured no ulterior revolutionary aims. But the name of **nationalist** was also appropriated by the pseudo-patriots from the ranks of landlords, chieftains and the reactionary bourgeoisie. In order to draw a line between the reactionary and traitorous elements and the real patriots, the latter were referred to as «honest nationalists» or «patriotic nationalists».

[2] Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 12.

principle, the meeting was in favor of the Communist Party's collaboration with other anti-fascist political parties in matters pertaining to the organization of the war against the invaders, if such parties were to be formed.

For the liberation of the country and the establishment of people's democracy in Albania, the meeting reached the conclusion that the only real and sure path to follow under the existing circumstances was that of an **armed uprising** against fascism. It decided:

> «. . . to prepare the people politically and militarily to engage in a general armed uprising, embracing all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces in the struggle».[1]

While choosing the general armed uprising as the principal form, the Party did not neglect the other forms of struggle like strikes, anti-fascist demonstrations, sabotage, oral and written exposure of the enemies, and so on. But the objective of all these activities was to prepare the people for a general armed uprising.

The organization of an armed uprising required, of course, the organization of the **armed forces,** of the **National-liberation Army.** The meeting stressed that without setting up a real people's army capable of dealing ceaseless blows at the enemies, of smashing their military and political apparatus, there could be no question of an armed uprising, no question of liberating the country, of winning national independence or of establishing a people's democratic government.

Under conditions of the occupation of Albania and of the Second World War, it was impossible for the armed uprising to break out immediately, for a people's revolutionary army to be created all at once. The development of the armed uprising and the creation of the National-liberation Army was a whole process in itself. This idea was clearly reflected in one of the political tasks defined by the meeting for the organizing of the partizan movement, the setting up of guerilla units and bands as the framework of the future people's army and as a tangible basis for the preparation of the general uprising.

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[1] Ibid., p. 23.

In line with its strategic objective and the conditions created in the international situation as a result of the entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War, the Communist Party of Albania also designated the external allies of the Albanian people as well as their attitude toward these allies.

On an international scale, the Albanian National-liberation War was an integral part of the anti-fascist struggle the world over. In their struggle the Albanian people should align themselves with the most active participants of the great anti-fascist coalition.

In this connection, the Meeting of the Communist Groups considered the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and all the enslaved peoples who fought against the common enemy — the German, Italian and Japanese fascists — as the allies of the Albanian people. It set the task of **linking the Albanian National-liberation War with the Great Anti-fascist World War.**

The Party made a very correct assessment of the alliance of the Soviet Union with Great Britain and the USA as a military alliance dictated by the circumstances in order to save the world from the menace of fascist bondage. At the same time, it made different assessments of these allies and maintained a differentiated stand toward them.

The Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania issued a call to the Albanian people, who should link their National-liberation War closely with the heroic war of the Soviet Union which stood at the forefront of battle against fascism.[1]

The Communist Party of Albania considered the Soviet Union as the loyal and sincere ally of the Albanian people which would also help them to establish and consolidate people's power in Albania. Whereas Great Britain and the USA were only temporary allies in the war against the fascist states.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups called to found the Party assigned the task of «developing love for the Soviet Union» by popularizing its role as a vanguard fighter against fascism and, at the same time, its major achievements in socialist construction.

It issued instructions also «to promote love and close militant collaboration between the Albanian people and the Balkan peoples, particularly the Serbian, Greek, Montenegrin and Macedonian peoples» who had risen in the anti-fascist liberation struggle.

Finally, the meeting expressed its confidence that the newly set up Communist Party would soon put an end to the sickly state in the communist movement in Albania, that it would take the lead in battle and that it would become capable of accomplishing its great historic task as leader of the Albanian people for their national liberation and social emancipation.

The historic significance of the Meeting of the Communist Groups lies in that it founded the Communist Party of Albania as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, a party of the new type.

It armed the Party with a clear political program that responded to the demands and aspirations of the broad masses of people, of the Fatherland and of socialism. This program was far from complete and the tasks had not been worked out in detail, for such a thing required a much wider experience of the revolutionary work and struggle of the Party and of the masses. But this program was built on Marxist-Leninist scientific foundations.

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[1] The First Proclamation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, November 1941. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 27.

The results of the meeting mark the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over Trotskyism and opportunism in the workers' and communist movement in Albania.

In its primary capacity as a representative of the interests of the working class, the Communist Party of Albania assumed the responsibility of defending, at the same time, the interests of all the laboring masses, of the enslaved people of Albania. Therefore, the founding of the Party was a major victory of the Albanian people as a whole.

For all these reasons, the Meeting of the Communist Groups had the significance of a constituent congress.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA — ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE WAR FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER

(1941-1944)

1. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY. ATTEMPTS TO UNITE AND MOBILIZE THE MASSES IN THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION WAR

The Party had to cope with very great difficulties and obstacles in order to accomplish its historic tasks.

From the communist groups, from which it had originated, the Party inherited very weak connections with the masses.

Throughout the country savage terror reigned. The Italian armed forces maintaining the occupation regime in Albania reached nearly 100,000 men. In December 1941, «strong man» Mustafa Kruja, a lackey and inveterate agent of fascism, was placed at the head of the Quisling government, in order to crush the communist organizations and to subjugate the Albanian people. The work of the Party was impeded by the fifth column and the «Zjarri» chiefs, who had passed over to the service of the aggressors, as well as by other enemies. Under these circumstances, all Party activity had to be carried out by clandestine methods.

To prosecute the armed struggle, the Party needed weapons, financial means, and military cadres.

As a newly set up Party, it had insufficient experience of political leadership, its members lacking a thorough and extensive theoretical preparation.

However, all these obstacles and difficulties, of which the Central Committee and all the Albanian communists were fully aware, did not prevent the Party from pushing ahead courageously. It did not make the mistake of waiting to first prepare the cadres, to find arms and money, to accumulate experience, to strengthen itself theoretically, and only then to start the work and the war. All this had to be acquired in the course of fighting, by relying on the revolutionary situation created within the country, on the lofty patriotism of the people, on the loyalty of the Albanian communists to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism in general. Its confidence in the victory of the world anti-fascist forces and, in the first place, in the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, further strengthened the Party's conviction that it would succeed in carrying out its tasks.

First Organizational Measures

The most pressing task was to organize the Party. All the members of the Provisional Central Committee were dispatched to various districts in order to set up new Party cells, to organize Party conferences, and to form district Party committees. Some 200 communists were chosen from the members of the former communist groups and admitted to membership of the cells. Eight district committees were set up. The majority of them emerged from Party conferences. In the cells and at the conferences, the communists vigorously supported the fusion of groups and the welding of them into a single Albanian Communist Party, which they had long demanded. They approved the political line the Party laid down at the Meeting of the Communist Groups, and expressed their determination to fight unreservedly under the guidance of the Provisional Central Committee.

Almost all the early cells were organized in the towns. The first members of the Party were mainly workers, artisans and intellectuals. Close to each Party cell there was set up an educational group of militants loyal to the cause of the people and socialism who, it was thought, might eventually become Party members. Groups of sympathizers also were organized.

The organization of the Party was almost completed in January 1942.

Within this period, the Provisional Central Committee also took measures for the creation of the Albanian Communist Youth Organization, which was founded on November 23, 1941, by young militant communists attached to communist groups. Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Party, was chosen as Political Secretary of the Communist Youth Organization. Under the direct supervision of the Central Committee and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, the Communist Youth Organization was built on Marxist-Leninist foundations. It was assigned the task of becoming the surest and the most powerful assistant of the CPA for the education of the broad masses of the Albanian youth in the spirit of patriotism and with communist ideas, for the mobilization of these masses in the anti-fascist liberation war. The Albanian youth were an inexhaustible source of revolutionary energy. The Party regarded them as the greatest source of the most active anti-fascist revolutionary forces. Replying to the salute addressed by the Communist Youth Organization on the occasion of its founding to the Central Committee of the CPA, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote:

> «The Party cherishes the greatest hopes that the Albanian Communist Youth will be worthy of the trust our young Party has placed in them and that they will know how to carry out the lofty task they have been assigned to in a revolutionary manner . . . in steel-like unity of mind and of heart with the Party, to organize and to lead the enslaved Albanian youth in a revolutionary manner toward their bright future, toward their liberation from the mediaeval chains of fascist bondage, and toward a new life of progress, culture and joy».[1]

For the ideological advancement of the Party members and of the young communists, the study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course, and of the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism was organized in Party cells, in the educational groups, the sympathizers groups and among activists of the Communist Youth.

The Foremost Task: Linking Up with the Masses

Along with the work to lay and strengthen its organizational and ideological foundations, the Communist Party of Albania did its utmost to link up with the masses and to convince them of the correctness of its political line. It placed this task in the forefront, as the key to solving the problem of uniting and mobilizing the people in the struggle.

Immediately after the founding of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee addressed itself to the entire Albanian people with a proclamation which resounded like a battle cry:

> «We call on all true Albanians who really hold Albania dear, to unite all our forces and place them at the service of the war for national liberation. Open war is the only stand to take toward the invader. Each son of this land of ours should be a soldier in the National-liberation War. To vanquish the enemy, our struggle must be organized, united and powerful. . . .
>
> Everyone unite in the war FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADER!»[1]

The CPA devoted great attention to propaganda and agitation by the press and by word of mouth. The Central Committee issued repeated calls and distributed leaflets addressed to the entire Albanian people or, separately, to peasants, soldiers, women and to youth. Appeals and leaflets were issued by the Party district committees as well. From the early part of 1942, the local Party organizations also issued communiques and periodic bulletins on the events of the anti-fascist war at home and abroad.

Never before had any political group or organization in Albania ever carried out such widespread and militant propaganda and agitation with such sound ideological content, so clear and down to earth, as the propaganda and agitation the Communist Party of Albania began to carry out with the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, women and soldiers. Through this untiring work, the Party elucidated its general line, explained the international and internal situation, popularized the Soviet Union and the heroic war of the Red Army, denounced fascism, the Italian invaders, the Hitlerite aggressors and the traitors to the Albanian people.

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[1] Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 29.

[1] The First Call of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, pp. 27-28.

Of all forms of agitation and propaganda, agitation by word of mouth occupied the most important place — discussions with people, separately or in small groups, discussions at gatherings of workers, of peasants, and of the youth. This form of agitation yielded most satisfactory results. The communists penetrated wherever the masses gathered. In order to come in contact with the people, they made use of all the means and methods that came to hand. They exploited extensively all old and new acquaintances, national and popular festivities, weddings, market-days, family ties, and so on.

Relying on the general line of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee elaborated its principal slogans to be disseminated through its publications, in anti-fascist demonstrations, and by means of oral agitation. The slogans responded to the demands and aspirations of the masses; they were comprehensible and acceptable to the people. The slogan «Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!» became the basic motto of the National-liberation War.

As a result of the Party propaganda work, the need to unite in an organized war against the invaders became more clear. This aroused a revolutionary enthusiasm, especially among the masses of the youth. Young communists succeeded in breaking up the youth sports and cultural associations set up by the Italian fascists and replacing them with new organizations under the direct guidance of the Communist Youth.

Propaganda and militant agitation were a most efficient weapon to win over the masses, but that was not enough. The CPA had drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings in the work of the communist groups, realizing from the start that the masses understood and mastered what the Party told them only if words were backed up by facts, concrete actions responding directly to their demands, interests and aspirations.

At first, a section of the population, especially in the countryside, did not understand the objectives and the political activity of the communists, because the Party had not yet become well known, and they had prejudices inculcated by bourgeois propaganda against communism and communists.

The Central Committee instructed the Party district committees to organize and carry out more and more political and militant actions, such as anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, acts of sabotage, armed operations, and so on, as the most important means of strengthening the Party and linking it with the masses. The communists were required to become examples of valor, determination and loyalty to the people and the homeland.

In December 1941 and at the beginning of the year 1942, guerilla units set up in almost all the cities carried out operations under the direct guidance of district Party committees. The first guerilla units comprised communists, communist youth and sympathizers. They were small armed groups of from 5 to 10 persons. The members of the units in general were not «illegals».

At the beginning of the year 1942, the guerilla units in Tirana, Korça, Vlora, Shkodra, Gjirokastra and other cities killed dozens of Italian fascist officers and high officials, Albanian spies and traitors. They attacked and blew up arms depots and other military objectives. Anti-fascist demonstrations took place under the guidance of district Party committees in Shkodra, Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, Vlora and in other localities. It was in these clashes with the enemy that the first Party members fell.

The actions of guerilla units were not intended solely to inflict losses on the enemy, but they were aimed, first and foremost, at bringing political advantages to the national-liberation movement, at influencing the rise of the political consciousness of the masses.

The armed actions and anti-fascist demonstrations aroused admiration for the communists among the broad masses of the people and rapidly raised the authority of the CPA. The exceptional valor and maturity displayed by the communists in their struggle against fascism rallied the masses closer and closer around the Party and won the people's trust.

Early in 1942, the Central Committee issued instructions that steps should be taken for the organization of partizan bands, as soon as the necessary conditions, especially the bases of the movement, were established in the countryside. The partizan bands would be able to carry out more powerful actions and on a broader scale than the guerilla units.

The Party accompanied its propaganda and militant agitation, its political and military actions with its work for the organization of the people. It did not begin its work with the creation of mass organizations, because the masses had to be politically prepared beforehand for such organizations. The initial forms used for the organization of the people were the individual ties of the Party members, of the young communists and of the sympathizers with the workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, women, secondary school students, as well as the sports and cultural circles of the youth, women's handicraft courses and educational gatherings. These forms ensured the participation of the masses at illegal gatherings and conferences and effected their political enlightenment and active participation in the anti-fascist movement.

In February 1942 the Central Committee issued the first instructions to establish national-liberation councils which would serve as instruments organizing and mobilizing the people for the anti-fascist war and, at the same time, as the «nuclei of our future government».[1] The councils were to serve as very important links in the connections of the Party with the broad masses of the people and unite them in the national-liberation front.

Of particular importance in linking the CPA with the people was its correct attitude toward the patriotic nationalists. A section of them exerted an important influence over various strata of the population, in the countryside especially. By collaborating with the patriotic nationalists, it would be possible to draw into struggle also those sections of the masses of the people who were under their sway. The Central Committee and the district Party committees displayed great care, patience and tact in dealing with the nationalists. This sector of work was considered as one of the most important, and requiring special attention.

While aiming at uniting and sincerely collaborating with the nationalists, the CPA had always to take into account the indecisiveness and vacillation of some of them, their inconsistency in a revolutionary war for the democratization of the country, their tendencies to compromise with the imperialists. The Party had to cope with the instability and neutralize the influence of those nationalists who, for some reason or other, did not agree to take part in the National-liberation War but who did not collaborate with the fascist aggressors, either.

The collection of material aid for the Party and the National-liberation War was treated as part of the work with the masses. No one other than the people could help them surmount their financial and material difficulties. Any voluntary aid in cash or in material, no matter how small, given by the workers, craftsmen, peasants, small or medium tradesmen, teachers or any other patriot to the Party was at the same time an approval of its line, a bridge linking the Party with the masses. The campaigns carried out by the Party organizations collecting aid for the Party and the National-liberation War served as a means to do an extensive work of political enlightenment of the people. One such campaign, for instance, was organized in January 1942, throughout Albania under the name: «The Communist Party Week».

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[1] Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 39.

The popularizing of the Communist Party, the growth of its authority with the masses, the daring actions of the guerilla squads and the anti-fascist demonstrations aroused alarm among the fascist invaders and traitors. The occupation authorities and the Quisling government hastily took a series of emergency measures aimed at annihilating the Communist Party. Martial law was reinstated and special orders were issued to carry out «a firm policy against subversive elements».

On the other hand, the Italian enslavers resorted to new manoeuvres in order to deceive the Albanian people, particularly the nationalists and the youth. The fascist propaganda depicted the national-liberation movement as merely a «communist» and «anti-national movement». Mustafa Kruja attempted to convince public opinion that fascist Italy was the architect of «Great Albania» and the protector of the national independence of the Albanian people. Mussolini sent instructions to the Italian viceroy in Tirana «to give the Albanians more autonomy». The invaders decided to remove the «fascist symbol» and the crown of Savoy from the Albanian flag, as they construed these signs to be «the cause of the resentment and revolt of Albanian patriots». The word «National» was added to the title of the «Albanian Fascist Party».

But fascist terror and demagogy were powerless to stop the growth of the national-liberation movement and the authority of the Communist Party of Albania.

Appreciable successes were achieved as early as the first months of the Party's existence. Nevertheless, these successes could not be considered as satisfactory. The work of the communists was affected by sectarianism, a malady inherited from the past. Little had been done for the organization of workers, but the greatest weakness lay in the work with the peasants. Out-of-date mental attitudes from the former communist groups, according to which the peasantry had to remain outside the sphere of communist work, greatly hindered a proper understanding of the decisive importance of linking the peasantry with the Party and of ensuring their active participation in the National-liberation War. There were a number of Party members who found it difficult to go to the countryside and expected the peasants to come to the city to work with them.

The Central Committee emphasized that the Party activity was hampered not only by hangovers from earlier work of the communist groups, but also by the spirit of groupism which was still accentuated, as well as by the factional anti-Party activities of Trotskyites Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and a number of their like, all of them former members of the «Youth» Group.

There were signs that a dangerous anti-Marxist liquidationist trend was crystallizing within the Party.

The spirit of groupism and the hostile activity of the Trotskyites within and outside the Party were a great obstacle to the expansion and the strengthening of the links with the broad masses of the people, and to their joining the anti-fascist war.

The Conference of the Activists of the CPA

For the purpose of surmounting this obstacle and imparting a new impulse to the work of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee called the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA.

The conference was opened in Tirana on April 8, 1942, under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The members of the Central Committee, the political and organizational secretaries of the district committees and a number of other communists took part in it. All the questions discussed were centred on the problem of linking the Party more closely with the masses, on their organization and mobilization in the National-liberation War.

Pointing out the successes achieved in the political work of the Party, the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA remarked that in Albania

> «the idea of a general uprising is going through a process of formation and of consolidation, and the people are beginning to realize that their liberation should and can be won through their own efforts, by linking their own war with that of the Soviet Union, America, Britain and China, as well as with that of the enslaved countries».[1]

The successes achieved, however, were regarded only as the first steps. The Party would have created more widespread and stronger connections with the masses, had it not been affected by the spirit of groupism, had its discipline not been violated, and erroneous theories spread by unhealthy and factionist elements.

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[1] Resolution of the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA, April 8, 1942. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, pp. 56-57.

The conference considered the weakness of the connections of the Party organizations with the masses of workers impermissible.

> «But how can our Party be strong without workers,» it remarked, «when the workers should be its basis?»[1]

In this regard the communists were charged with carrying out an untiring explanatory political and organizational work with the workers, to rally them more and more around the Party and to prepare leading cadres for the National-liberation War from among them.

The activists devoted special attention to the work to be carried out to attract the masses of peasants and to mobilize them in struggle. As a condition for surmounting the difficulties which had to be confronted in this field, the communists were urged to fight their old outlooks and their defeatist views regarding the peasantry, to get well based in the countryside, to become acquainted with the life of the peasants and to know and feel their troubles and their problems.

The conference instructed the Party organizations to renounce all backward ideas in their work with the youth and women, to improve and intensify their activity in these sectors. The youth and women should become powerful supports of the Party.

The Party activists assessed as correct the practice pursued by the Central Committee in giving priority to the political and military activities.

> «Without action there is no communist party. . . . What raises and strengthens the Party is action and the struggle. We cannot become linked with the

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[1] Ibid., p. 61.

> people if we cannot prove to them that we are capable of leading them».[1]

The most pressing need for the broadening of the armed struggle was considered to be the increasing and strengthening of guerilla units, the creation of partizan bands.

At this conference, the concept of uniting the masses of the people in a national-liberation front and creating the national-liberation councils took a more concrete form.

The conference assessed the Party's close connections with the masses as the best index of its strength and capability as a Marxist-Leninist party, of the correctness of its policy, and as an essential condition for the preservation of the Party from enemy attacks.

At the centre of the activity of the Party, the activists placed the struggle against the attempts of the fascists to lure the Albanian people into a trap disguised with slogans of nationalism and autonomy in order to incite them to fratricidal war and antagonism with their neighbors.

The activists pointed out that the main internal problem of the Party was to eliminate groupism and the factional activity within its ranks. It advised Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte to sever all their former connections, to turn back from their crooked course, warning them that severe measures would be taken in case they did not do so. The Party activists called for a purge of the Party, mercilessly expelling all incorrigible elements, but, at the same time, exerting every effort to place the unsteady elements on the right road.

As to admitting new members to the Party, mainly from the ranks of the workers and poor peasants, instructions were given to the effect that the shortcomings of their theoretical and political knowledge should not bar them from becoming members of the Party. These insufficiently schooled but resolute people would be further developed and educated as fiery militants for the cause of the people and communism within the ranks of the Party.

While calling on the communists to fight with all their might to eliminate the Trotskyite trend within the Party, the conference instructed them not to neglect the struggle against the renegades outside the Party, particularly against the Trotskyite «Zjarri» Group. They should likewise be vigilant and frustrate all the attempts of the Italian fascists and the internal reactionaries to have their agents provocateurs penetrate the ranks of the Communist Party.

2. DEALING A SMASHING BLOW AT THE FACTIONIST LIQUIDATORY TREND AND ESTABLISHING UNITY IN THE PARTY

After the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, far from renouncing their disruptive activity against the Party, intensified it further. The promise they had made at the Meeting of the Communist Groups for the founding of the Party, namely, that they would submit to the will of the majority and to the directives of the Central Committee, was only a pretence. Taking advantage of the great difficulties the young Communist Party had to cope with, they resorted to all ways and means to sabotage the organizational consolidation of the Party and the implementation of its political tasks. A. Lula and S. Premte continued to maintain their old connections with most of the former members of the «Youth» Group. Infringing the rules and norms set by the Party, they held «organizational» and «educational» meetings with them and gave them directives in opposition to those of the Central Committee. They did not turn over to the Party all the theoretical and propaganda material, nor the equipment and finances of their group.

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[1] Ibid., p. 62.

The dissidents continued to strongly oppose the general line of the Party, sabotaging the activity of the Central Committee, of the district committees and of the Party cells in every way.

The faction members were assigned the task of occupying leading posts, alleging their «greater capability» and «superior theoretical preparation»! From these positions they were to strive to seize the reins of the Central Committee.

To attain their objective, the dissidents had directed their principal blows at the Party leaders in the centre and in the districts and accused them of being incapable and unschooled persons who knew only how to give orders but not how to lead. They cried themselves hoarse at the «injustice» that had been done to the «Youth» Group, which allegedly was not adequately represented in the Central Committee nor in the district committees of the Party, and demanded that this situation should be changed.

Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte with their associates instigated discontent among ambitious, conceited and careerist members of the former communist groups, and tried to win them over to their side. They urged them to demand an accounting for why they had not been assigned responsibilities in the Party compatible with their merits and ability!

The dissident group carried out its hostile activity throughout the country, but it was in Tirana that its activity reached its peak.

There was not the least doubt that an anti-Party factional group with its own organizational connections and political platform had been created within the Party. The political platform of the dissidents consisted of the discredited liquidatory theses according to which armed struggle and cooperation with the nationalists and peasants were impossible to achieve, the anti-fascist alliance and, particularly, the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the war, were not to be relied upon, etc.

The situation was really disquieting. The newly founded Communist Party of Albania was in great danger of ceasing to exist due to blows dealt by the Italian fascists and the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group from outside, and by the liquidationist faction from within. There were even signs that some agents provocateurs of fascism were operating in the ranks of the Party. As a result of their activity, the police had managed to capture and imprison a number of communists and non-Party patriots. Qemal Stafa, Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth, fell a victim of these agents. He was besieged and killed in a Tirana house while fighting heroically against the militiamen and carabinieri on May 5, 1942. The fascists also succeeded in detecting and seizing the equipment and archives of the Central Committee and of the Tirana District Committee.

There was not complete unity in the Party. Without a sound ideological and organizational unity, without steel-like discipline equally obligatory on all its members, the Party would have been unable to win over and lead the masses, and as a consequence there could have been no unity of the people around the Party, and no victory achieved over the enemy. Without unity the Party either would have turned into a Trotskyite or social democratic party or would have been crushed.

The Extraordinary Conference of the Party

To eliminate the great danger menacing the Party, the Provisional Central Committee convoked an Extraordinary Conference, which was held on June 28 and 29, 1942 in Tirana. It was attended by members of the Central Committee, members of the District Committee and other communists of Tirana. Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte were invited to attend. Comrade Enver Hoxha presided.

The Extraordinary Conference dealt with only one question: the elimination of the liquidatory factionist trend and establishing unity in the Party.

The many efforts of the Party to put the factionists on the right road had not yielded any positive results because of their persistence in their sabotage and liquidationist activity. Now «the cup was full to overflowing», remarked the conference.

The groupism and lack of unity could not be tolerated any longer in the Party, particularly at the crucial historic moments the country was going through, when the national-liberation movement was mounting rapidly toward a general uprising, and when the unity of the people around the Party was obviously more essential than ever.

The conference emphasized:

> «In order to be able to cope with the heavy and difficult tasks lying before us, we absolutely must achieve identity of opinions and views in both political work and in the organization itself (identity of views should exist in all Leninist-Stalinist type parties, hence our Party also must be based on these foundations, because identity of views is indispensable, it is the prime condition for the Party to achieve its aims)».[1]

To ensure the unity and consolidation of the Party, it was decided to purge it of all the incorrigible factionists by expelling them immediately. The conference called on the Party organizations to be ruthless against all those who had wanted to bury the Party.

After weighing the crimes of Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte and their closest accomplices, the Central Committee, in line with the assessments and proposals made at the conference, decided to expel them from the Party. Some other factionists were suspended for three months.

In a special circular letter, the Central Committee informed the entire Party of the proceedings of the Extraordinary Conference and of the measures taken against the principal leaders of the liquidatory factionist trend. At the same time, it gave instructions that measures should be taken to expel factionists operating in the districts.

The factionists excluded from the Party, the Central Committee recommended, should not be outcast and entirely abandoned, but should be helped to realize their mistakes. Every effort should be made to bring back to the Party ranks those who make amends. At the same time severe steps were to be taken against those continuing their hostile activity.

Finally, the Central Committee urged that this purge should be correctly understood as an operation to rid the Party of the liquidatory factionists to establish unity in the Party, and not as a measure directed against the former «Youth» Group members. Under no circumstances should this group as a whole be disparaged simply for the fact that Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte, and most of the factionists had come from this group. There were many communists from the «Youth» Group who had not been involved with the factionists, who had given proof of their determination and loyalty to the Party and stood in the forefront of the struggle together with the other comrades.

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[1] Circular of the CC of the CPA about the condemnation of the inimical activity of the Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte group at the Extraordinary Conference of the Party, July 1942. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 81.

The decisions of the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA and those of the Extraordinary Conference, as well as the directives of the Central Committee, found complete approval in the Party organizations throughout the country. Within a short time the Party was purged of all factionists and splitters. Hundreds of new members, tempered in struggle, loyal to the cause of the people and communism were admitted to its ranks. Many supporters of the factionist trends, deeply understanding their mistakes, broke away from their Trotskyite chiefs and wholeheartedly pledged to the Party that they would firmly abide by its correct line.

The defeat of the liquidatory factionist trend sharpened the vigilance of the communists and invigorated the internal life of the Party.

The struggle against the factionists brought to light signs of rottenness and other shortcomings which had hampered the work and consolidation of the Party.

At this time, the Central Committee censured the divisive activity of Mustafa Gjinishi, of Koço Tashko and certain other people dissatisfied over their failure to be elected to the Central Committee and district committees of the Party. In talks with Party members and non-Party individuals, they deprecated nearly all the Party directives, describing them either as premature, or belated, either as sectarian, or opportunist, fomenting, thus, personal grudges that people might have. This was done to engender distrust toward the Party leadership. They had been repeatedly advised by the Central Committee to refrain from this anti-Party activity.

During the struggle to do away with the factionist trend and establish unity in the Party ranks a secessionist tendency was detected in the Gjirokastra District Committee. This committee had failed to carry out, and had even distorted, the Central Committee's directives on the armed struggle and the partizan bands, the national-liberation councils, the youth, and so forth. It did not report to the Central Committee about its activity nor send in the principal instructions and propaganda materials it issued. The person mainly to blame for fostering these trends was Bedri Spahiu, at the time political secretary of this committee.

The Central Committee took these manifestations very seriously, severely condemned the secessionist trend of the Gjirokastra District Committee, dissolved it and organized the election of a new committee.

The energetic measures adopted by the Provisional Central Committee found immediate support in all the Party organizations throughout the country. The dangers of groupism and factionism threatening the newly created Communist Party were rooted out and a sound unity was assured — a militant unity based on Marxism-Leninism.

3. THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION FRONT. THE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER AND THE EXTENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The First Conference of the Activists of the CPA and the Extraordinary Conference gave fresh momentum to the work of the communists aimed at making the Party's political line clearer to the broad masses of the people, at exposing the new tactics of the enemy and mobilizing the people for war.

On the initiative of the Party and under its guidance, the first national-liberation councils were set up in a number of villages. Besides those in the towns, guerilla units were organized in a number of provinces. Non-Party anti-fascists also fought alongside the communists in these combat units. The formation of guerilla detachments had begun as far back as spring 1942. By July, fighting detachments were operating in Peza, Kurvelesh, Gora, Skrapar, Mokra, Shkodra, Devoll, Dibra and Mat. They purged the first areas of the country of the military and civil authorities of the fascist invaders and the traitors. On the instructions of the Central Committee, on July 24th all telephone and telegraph lines were cut and destroyed throughout Albania. Everyday military vehicles along the highways were destroyed, fascist carabinieri and militia posts were assailed, military depots were blown up, offices of fascist organizations and other administrative buildings of the enemy were burned down, etc. All these actions were accompanied with demonstrations, protests, strikes and sabotage.

These unremitting activities panicked the enemy, threw the occupation authorities and their collaborating puppets into utter confusion. Information and reports from the local military and civil organs on the «alarming situation in Albania», «the hopeless situation», «the penetration of communist ideas into the people's minds» poured into Tirana and Rome. The enemy resorted to fresh arrests and imprisonments of patriots, deportations of families of fugitives and partizan fighters, issued new and more rigorous orders providing the death penalty for anyone carrying out anti-fascist activity. More communists laid down their lives as martyrs showing great heroism in the armed clashes against the enemy, or in prison, facing torture, the firing squad, or the hangman.

These unremitting activities against the Italian invaders and their stooges moved more and more people to embrace the political line of the Party and give it their support and assistance.

Zëri i Popullit

«Zëri i Popullit», the organ of the Communist Party of Albania, the first number of which came out on August 25, 1942, was a powerful political weapon in the hands of communists. It was founded by decision of the Provisional Central Committee and directed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the leading article of its first number, the organ of the CPA set as its objective:

> «to unite all the Albanian people around this organ, to unite *all honest and anti-fascist persons regardless of their religious beliefs, political opinions and trends . . . for an independent, free and democratic Albania*».[1]

«Zëri i Popullit» propagated the political line of the Party, the anti-fascist war of the Albanian people and of other peoples, explained the road which must be followed for national liberation, exposed the policy and the activity of the fascist invaders and the Albanian traitors. It published Party proclamations, articles and comments on the internal and international situation, chronicles on the principal events, and correspondence from the various districts of the country.

The publication of the «Zëri i Popullit» was warmly received by the broad masses. Through Party members, young communists and non-Party patriotic activists, «Zëri i Popullit», the word of the Party, was spread to all corners of the country. It was read with the greatest interest. Soon «Zëri i Popullit» became the favorite newspaper of the Albanian people.

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[1] «Zëri i Popullit», No. 1, August 1942.

The Peza Conference Through its explanatory, mobilizing and organizing activity against the invaders during the first months of its existence, the Party laid the foundations of the militant union of the Albanian people. To strengthen these foundations, to put the political and organizational union of the people throughout the country on a sound political and organizational basis the CC of the CPA called the Albanian National-liberation Conference.

This conference was held on September 16, 1942 in Peza. Besides the communists, nationalists of differing political trends took part. Some of these nationalists stood very close to the Communist Party, having embraced its political line and been active in fighting against the invaders. Others supported the liberation of the country and rallying the people in the war against the foreign invaders, but were taking no part in action, having adopted a wait-and-see attitude. This category included ex-King Zog's supporters of whom the principal representative was Abaz Kupi.

The Communist Party also invited another category of nationalists, such as Mithat Frashëri and others, who had not yet openly disclosed their stand, to take part in the conference. These nationalists did not accept and attempted to boycott the conference.

At the National-liberation Conference the problem of uniting and organizing the Albanian people in the war against the fascist invaders was thoroughly discussed. The participants, including the overwhelming majority of the nationalists, stressed the vigorous activity and the great

organizational role of the Communist Party in the National-liberation War. It was pointed out that the Italian fascists and Mustafa Kruja had not succeeded in dividing the Party from the patriotic nationalists, that the communists had won the affection and confidence of the people, that

> «fascist propaganda about the «communist danger» and the «communists being disloyal to the country» has been exposed. Communism in Albania is no longer the bogy of the peasant, of the owner of medium means, of the intellectual, as fascism tries to present to the people.»[1]

Neither Abaz Kupi nor any other nationalist dared to oppose openly the guiding role the CPA had begun to play in the struggle. They strove to hinder the growth of its authority by opposing some external manifestations which bore the Party mark, such as calling the fighting units «partizan» units and the red star they adopted as an emblem. This opposition and some contradictory views on the mass participation of the youth in the struggle and on some terms of the resolution were surmounted after the representatives of the CPA had patiently defended their correct points of view.

The conference elected the (Provisional) National-liberation General Council and adopted unanimously the platform of the National-liberation War proposed by the Communist Party. This platform contained the following main items:

To wage uncompromising war against the fascist invaders and the traitors, for a free, independent and democratic Albania.

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[1] Resolution of the Peza Conference, September 16, 1942. Documents of the Supreme Organs of the National-liberation Revolutionary Power, Tirana, 1962, p. 12.

The real foundations of the union of the Albanian people had been laid and would be strengthened only in battle with the invader.

Sound organization of all true Albanians in a united national-liberation front should be effected without discrimination as to class, political conviction, religion or region.

National-liberation councils should be set up everywhere as organs uniting and mobilizing the people in the war, and as organs of the people's power.

The people's general armed uprising should be popularized and prepared for as the ultimate stage, as the logical consequence of the partizan war.

An organized campaign should be waged against the Agricultural Bank, Italian share-holders' companies, and all exploiters who, by the agency of the invaders, extort profits at the expense of the people.

The Peza Conference laid the foundations of the National-liberation Front and of the people's power. It confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania in the National-liberation War, thus achieving the Party's first great political victory.

The Peza Conference was not a conference of political parties. Only the Communist Party, the organizer of the conference, took part as a political party in its proceedings. There were no other anti-fascist political parties participating.

Thus, the National-liberation Front was not founded as a coalition of political parties. The Peza Conference legalized the voluntary union of the broad masses of the people, a union whose foundations had been laid at the grass roots in the war against the foreign invaders. It was the Communist Party that forged this union and was the direct and sole leader of the National-liberation Front. The front had at its foundations the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the latter constituting its broadest base. In the program of the Party, the patriotic nationalists saw the fulfilment of their immediate national aspirations and joined the National-liberation Front either in groups of the same tendency or as individuals.

National-liberation Councils

The theses advanced by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Peza Conference on «the national-liberation councils as organs of the union and struggle of the Albanian people» were adopted as a basis for setting up the national-liberation councils.

In the regions not yet liberated the councils were combative organs uniting all the people's anti-fascist forces. They enlightened the masses and launched them into struggle, prepared them for the general uprising, collected material aid necessary for the war, gathered information on the movements and the size of the enemy armed forces, organized the economic struggle against the Italian capitalist companies and sabotaged the accumulation of agricultural products by the fascists.

In the liberated regions, the councils exercised the functions of organs of the people's power. They maintained law and order, looked after the development of the economy, the food supply, trade, sowing and harvesting of grain, organized education, culture and the press; they settled conflicts, patched up blood feuds, maintained the people's readiness for war, and so on.

> «*The importance of the national-liberation councils is great*», the Peza Conference stressed. «Through them the government functions and the people are mobilized for struggle and for the uprising.»[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

For the organization of the national-liberation councils the CPA had the rich experience of the Soviets, but, naturally, it did not merely copy this experience. First and foremost, it relied on the concrete circumstances under which the people's anti-fascist uprising was developing in Albania. The composition of the organs of this uprising harmonized with its national-liberation character. These councils, the Central Committee instructed in June 1942, should include the militant representatives of all the anti-fascist forces regardless of their political opinion and class background. The concept of these councils was acceptable to the masses of the people in Albania. From time immemorial it had been a tradition of the Albanians to create «conventions» and «councils» whenever they felt obliged to rise up to fight against foreign aggressors or to solve their internal problems. The national-liberation councils, however, varied from the «conventions» and «councils» of the past in their completely new composition and organization. They were born and grew as revolutionary democratic organs created by the masses themselves under the sole leadership of the Communist Party. They were the negation of all the former anti-popular and exploiting state organs and organizations.

As such, the national-liberation councils won great popularity among the masses. Following the Peza Conference their number increased rapidly both in the liberated and not yet liberated regions. People saw in them the defenders of their own interests and those of the Fatherland.

Because in 1942 only some rural regions had been liberated, the councils began to exercise their functions as organs of people's power in the countryside, the towns being still occupied by the Italian fascists. The councils became important links binding the Party closely with the peasantry.

Partizan Detachments Besides the uniting of the people in the National-liberation Front and setting up people's councils the armed partizan struggle was also extended and intensified.

Partizan warfare was a form of war known and tested throughout centuries in Albania and in other countries. The Albanian people preserved strong traditions of patriotic guerilla warfare against foreign invaders. The Peza Conference expressed its conviction that the glorious path of the forefathers of the Albanians would be followed with courage and honor.

By making use of the guerilla warfare experience of the former Albanian patriots, the CPA imparted to the war against fascist invaders and traitors a deeply popular and revolutionary content.

The guerilla units were the first schools of partizan warfare. Through the formation and activity of partizan detachments, the partizan movement rose to a higher level and assumed vast proportions throughout the country.

The creation of fighting detachments in general followed this course: the Party district committee sent from the towns to the countryside a number of Party members, young communists and sympathizers tested in the guerilla units, charging them with the task of organizing fighting detachments. Around this nucleus, the fighting detachments were built up mainly with peasants. The countryside became the base and the principal source of partizan detachments.

There was no class limitation in the make-up of the fighting detachments. All those who desired to fight the enemy were admitted. Only persons with a shady past, common criminals and robbers who had aroused the contempt and hatred of the people were not allowed to join. All the partizans were volunteers. There could be 50-60 fighters in each partizan detachment. At the head of each detachment stood the commander and the political commissar who together directed its activity and were jointly responsible for the readiness and the combat and political preparation of the partizans. In most cases commanders were not Party members, whereas commissars were representatives of the Party within the partizan detachments.

In each detachment there was a Party cell which was its heart.

The detachments carried out intensive combat activity against the fascist invaders and traitors. At the same time, they had to develop a political, cultural and educational activity not only with the partizans but also with the population of the region in which they were operating. The fighting detachments had the liberated zones as their base. There they had already done away with the old oppressive power and helped the people to set up national-liberation councils. They assisted the peasants in their agricultural work and served as the armed support of the people's councils in maintaining law and order.

In the partizan detachments the masses saw for the first time their own army, the champion of their own interests. They gave it their all-round support. The partizan detachments were given shelter and supplied with food by the peasants; the townspeople also supplied various material aid. Without such aid and without such all-round and unsparing support from the people, the partizan war could not have been organized and the people's revolutionary army could not have been set up.

Besides partizan detachments, after the Peza Conference, territorial units made up of volunteers were organized in the liberated regions, in each large village or 2-3 small villages. They were irregular self-defense detachments which took up arms whenever they were called upon by the partizan detachments to carry through an important

thrust or to ward off operations undertaken by the enemy against the liberated regions. These detachments served at the same time as a source of replenishment of the regular partizan units.

Following the Peza Conference, the number of guerilla units, partizan and territorial detachments increased rapidly. By the end of 1942 there were about 2,000 partizan fighters, besides some thousands of others taking part in the guerilla units in towns and in the countryside.

In order to crush these detachments, from September to December 1942 the Italian invaders engaged in large-scale punitive operations in 27 regions of Southern, Central and Northern Albania. They burned down hundreds of peasants' houses, massacred old and young people, women and children, but they failed to attain their objective of suppressing the partizan movement. In Peza, Skrapar, Dibra, Mat, Korça, Kurvelesh, Vlora and other regions, thousands of men and women joined the partizans in their fight against the Italian hordes. Hundreds of fascist soldiers, militiamen and officers were killed in bitter fighting.

The successes of the partizan warfare and the utter failure of the 1942 Italian military operations brought to light the inner rottenness of the invaders, the invincible strength of the Albanian people, and confirmed the correctness of the policy pursued by the Communist Party. A real people's revolution had begun in Albania.

The echo of this heroic struggle passed beyond the boundaries of Albania, arousing the admiration and high appreciation of the peoples and countries fighting against fascism. In December 1942 the Government of the Soviet Union in an official statement expressed its sympathy for the liberation war of the Albanian people. The Soviet Government did not recognize any claim of Italian imperialism to Albanian soil and desired to see the whole of

Albania liberated and independent. Official statements recognizing the anti-fascist struggle of the Albanian people were published simultaneously also by the governments of the USA and of Great Britain, although the latter purposely made no declaration against imperialist claims on Albania. These statements, particularly that of the Soviet Government, were of great support to the Albanian people, strengthened their confidence in victory, and helped to further extend the armed struggle against the fascist enslavers.

The Attitude of the CPA Toward the «Balli Kombëtar»

The impulsive growth of the anti-fascist war under the leadership of the Communist Party stirred all classes, groups and political currents in Albania. The surge of anger and the anti-fascist movement of the masses, the partizan warfare, had caused an irreparable political crisis in the enemy ranks. This crisis could not but affect the reactionary classes of the country and their representatives who had linked their fate with the invaders. They were scared to death by the revolutionary impetus of the anti-fascist war and the growth of the authority of the Communist Party, because here they saw the danger of losing their privileges. A heavy blow was dealt them by the Peza Conference and the founding of the National-liberation Front. Immediately after these events, the alarmed reaction began to speak of the «communist danger» and the struggle against it. The representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, with the support of the fascist invaders, toward November 1942 hastily announced the creation of a political organization to be counterposed directly to the National-liberation Front. This organization was named «Balli kombëtar» (=«the National Front»). It was headed by the sham-patriot Mithat Frashëri.

Reactionary bourgeois intellectuals, big landowners and merchants, reactionary clergymen, rich peasants and others joined in the «Balli kombëtar». The Trotskyite «Zjarri» Group also joined it.

The «Balli kombëtar» was a motley political union of various reactionary trends. Its organization was rotten. Comrade Enver Hoxha characterized this union as follows:

> «The «Balli kombëtar» is a «ramassis» (a French word for amorphous assemblage — Edit.) of elements of various groundless trends who have made nationalism a favorite byword. . . . Seen from within, the «Balli kombëtar» is a basketful of crabs (. . . each pulling in its own way). . . . Others are men of 99 tricks and of one valor, others are addicted to sounding the alarm, while still others to speechmaking, but none of them are men of deeds.»[1]

It was only their common class interest, their hatred against the Communist Party and people's revolutionary movement, that brought these men together.

The «Balli kombëtar» immediately announced that it did not recognize the Peza Conference and published its own program of sheer demagogy from top to bottom. In highflown words the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs boasted of allegedly fighting for «an economically and socially normalized Albania, without exploiters and exploited».

In a great hurry they set up some «illegal» bands in the mountains, which were not there to fight the invaders, but to obstruct the combat and political activity of the partizan detachments, to propagate the policy of the «Balli kombëtar» and to intimidate the peasants. They set up in the countryside «councils» of the «Balli kombëtar» which were to replace the national-liberation councils. They likewise made use of other forms and means very similar to those employed by the Communist Party, which enjoyed great popularity. Posing as «ardent patriots», they advised the Albanian people not to fight against Italian invaders, for such a struggle would entail the annihilation of the Albanian nation! The prime slogan of the «Balli kombëtar» was: «Wait till the time comes». Its adherents launched an unrestrained campaign against the National-liberation Front and the Communist Party, against communism and the Soviet Union.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Letter to the Korça District Committee, January 1943. Works, Vol. I, Tirana, 1968, pp. 169-171.

The whole aim of the «Balli kombëtar» was to alienate the masses of the people, especially the peasantry, from the Communist Party, to destroy the National-liberation Front, to quell the national-liberation movement, and to seize all political power after the war.

To achieve its aims, the «Balli kombëtar» chose to collaborate with the invaders. It could not have acted differently, its intentions toward the Communist Party being shared by the invaders who could not tolerate any independent activity of the «Balli kombëtar». Nevertheless, their reciprocal interests required that their collaboration should be kept secret. Otherwise nobody could be misled.

The emergence of the «Balli kombëtar» greatly complicated the situation within the country. Lenin teaches that there can be no revolution without complicated situations, that «the revolution itself in the course of its development always creates an extraordinarily complicated situation».[1]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 26, p. 117 (Albanian edition).

In the complex situation which arose after the emergence of the «Balli kombëtar», the Communist Party of Albania was compelled to act with great maturity, wisdom and farsightedness. Only by resorting to skilful tactics toward the «Balli kombëtar» was the Party able to preserve the successes it had achieved and further strengthen its bonds with the masses, thus leading the Albanian people to the complete victory of their struggle for national independence and a people's democratic Albania.

The Communist Party was well aware that the «Balli kombëtar» was the offspring of reaction and an instrument in the hands of the fascist invaders. Faced with the sabotaging activities of the «Balli kombëtar», some Party grass root organizations, even some district committees, insistently demanded the use of armed force against it.

But the Central Committee held firmly to its principle that there is no greater danger for a proletarian party than to build its tactics according to subjective wishes. Answering those who demanded that open war should be declared on the «Balli kombëtar», Comrade Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Central Committee, instructed:

> « . . . *it* (the «Balli kombëtar» — Edit.) *is a great obstacle indeed, because we should not underestimate the individual influence of its adherents in Albania, always bearing in mind that they have succeeded in creating among the people the opinion that there exists a nationalist organization with which the communists should come to an understanding and agreement. . . .* We should not forget that among the «Balli kombëtar» ranks there are quite a number of good and resolute elements who sincerely desire to unite and fight».[1]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Letter to the Korça District Committee, January 1943. Works, Vol. I, Tirana, 1968, p. 171.

For these reasons the Communist Party of Albania at the beginning laid down the following tactics toward the «Balli kombëtar»: the defeatist slogan of «the time being not ripe to fight against the Italians» should be denounced; it should be demanded publicly that the «Balli kombëtar» accept the union of all the anti-fascist forces of the country on the basis of an immediate and all-out war without compromise against the Italian fascist invaders; the «Balli kombëtar» should be required to cease immediately its propaganda against the Communist Party and communism; talks should be held with its representatives on the question of the war against the invaders; but some «Balli kombëtar» chiefs compromised as fascists and traitors should be exposed before the people.

Through these tactics the Party aimed at differentiating between the members in the ranks of the «Balli kombëtar», attracting into the war against the invaders all those who would be willing to take such a step. Thus, the «Balli kombëtar» as a whole would be compelled from below to adhere to the national-liberation movement, the anti-national policy and two-faced stand of its chiefs would be exposed so that the people might single out and punish all those who would obstruct the union of the people and the war against the aggressors.

The weakest point in the tactics of the «Balli kombëtar» was the question of the all-out armed struggle against the Italian invaders, as it was in fact against it. Therefore, in order to expose the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs, the CPA decided to deal the main blow precisely at this weak point. The masses of the people who were for the war against the invaders had to be convinced through their own experience that the «patriotism» of the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs was false and that all their hysterical «patriotic» clamor was sheer demagogy.

Determining the particular tactics to be carried out toward the «Balli kombëtar», the CC of the CPA called on the Party organizations to put its instructions into practice to the letter. It regarded the question of the attitude to be taken toward this organization as most intricate and requiring the greatest prudence. On the one hand, the Central Committee instructed, this matter had to be handled with patience and farsightedness, acting always with a cool head in order not to fall into the trap of the provocations of the enemy and bearing always in mind that

> « . . . *the war cannot be waged by ourselves alone but together with the people as a whole, and for this reason we must take work with these nationalists seriously*».[1]

On the other hand, the Central Committee instructed, no step backwards from the assigned road should be taken, because the union of all the forces of the country could be achieved only through a relentless armed struggle against the invaders, and not through bargains with the nationalists:

> «*We should neither tolerate that the dignity of our Party be trampled upon, be it even so slightly, nor should we allow stones to be put under the wheels of the National-liberation War* . . . , we should attempt to forestall their (the «Balli kombëtar» adherents — Edit.) drive first by arguing with and persuading them, and only afterwards 'à la manière forte' (by force — Edit.)».[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 174.

[2] Enver Hoxha, Letter to the Gjirokastra District Committee, February 23, 1943. Works, Vol. I, Tirana, 1968, p. 198.

The situation after the founding of the «Balli kombëtar» was fraught with great dangers for the Party and the National-liberation War, various strata of the population had no clear-cut political ideas as to the road they should take. Through demagogy and threats the «Balli kombëtar» succeeded in winning over a part of the population, especially in the countryside. A number of wavering elements in the rural areas abandoned the National-liberation Front and went over to the «Balli kombëtar». In view of this situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed that «much, very much caution is required». «If we emerge with success» from this situation, «our cause will win; if we slip, we will break our necks.»[1]

4. THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA. DIRECTIONS ON THE GENERAL UPRISING

The decision to call a National Conference of the Party to elect its definitive Central Committee and to outline its forthcoming tasks had been taken as early as April 1942 by the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA. According to this decision the conference was to be held only after the Party had been purged of factionists and splitters and after the establishment of a sound unity. This had now been achieved.

In December 1942 the Communist Party of Albania received the directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the National-liberation War. These directives stressed the need to organize the National-liberation War against the Italian and German aggressors, to unite the people in one single national-liberation front, to have as many upright patriots and nationalists as possible participate in the war and in its leadership, and demanded that Party slogans should not go beyond the demands of the National-liberation War.

This event was of great import for the young Communist Party of Albania. These directives showed that the political line of the Party defined at the foundation meeting and further concretized by the Provisional Central Committee was a correct one. Besides, the CPA had been recognized as a section of the international communist movement.

Under these circumstances, toward the end of December 1942, the Provisional Central Committee decided to call the First National Conference of the CPA for March 1943.

Deepening Political Crisis in the Enemy Ranks

While the Party was preparing for its First National Conference, events both in the international and national arena developed rapidly.

In the second half of 1942 the eyes of Albania, like all the rest of the world, were on Stalingrad where the fate of the anti-fascist world war was being decided. The heroic struggle of the defenders of Stalingrad inspired the Albanian partizans and patriots in their liberation war against the invaders.

On February 2, 1943 the Stalingrad battle ended in a brilliant victory of the Red Army. Military history had never before recorded a victory on such a scale, the encirclement of so large a strategical grouping and its annihilation.

The Stalingrad victory marked a radical turning point, not only for the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, but for the whole course of the Second World War. «The downfall of the German fascist army began at Stalingrad».[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 199.

This event exerted a great influence on the extension of the national-liberation movements in the countries occupied by the fascist states. Amongst all the peoples belief in the inevitable total destruction of Hitlerite Germany was strengthened.

The Stalingrad victory was of profound importance for Albania, as well. Under the favorable conditions created for all the anti-fascist forces in the world, the liberation war of the Albanian people was further extended and intensified.

The armed struggle rose to a higher level: from isolated military acts to coordinated combat actions of two or more partizan units. Such actions with the participation of a number of partizan units were those carried out against the Italian fascists at Voskopoja, Snosëm of Gramsh (January 1943), Patos, Selenica of Vlora and Libohova regions, on the Kukës-Puka highway near Shëmëri (February). Within three months the number of liberated regions was almost doubled.

The authority of the national-liberation councils was enhanced parallel with the extension and consolidation of the partizan movement. Underground national-liberation councils were set up in a number of towns. The masses of the people were increasingly induced to look on these councils as the sole organs of the people's power, trusting and submitting to their decisions and ordinances alone.

On the eve of its First National Conference, the CPA scored another success of major importance in the struggle against the Trotskyites and opportunists in Albania: at the beginning of March 1943 the «Zjarri» Group was totally crushed. The final blow was dealt them by Comrade Enver Hoxha's editorial, «A Few Words on Some Servants of Fascism — the «Zjarri» Group», published in «Zëri i Popullit» in January. This article exposed the Trotskyite tactics of the «Zjarri» Group chiefs, who sometimes launched such leftist slogans as «for a proletarian revolution», «for the struggle against capital», «for the dictatorship of the proletariat», with the intention of winning the trust of the working masses, sympathizers of communism, or at other times posed as «nationalists» with the intention of detaching the nationalist patriots from the National-liberation War and from the Communist Party. The article proved with facts that the chiefs of the «Zjarri» Group were enemies of communism and the Albanian people, that they were agents provocateurs and tools of the aggressors.

Many members of the «Zjarri» Group, perceiving the treachery of their chiefs, abandoned them and went over unconditionally to the side of the CPA. Many of them were re-educated by the Party.

The wiping out of the «Zjarri» Group dealt a heavy blow at the «Balli kombëtar», as well. Playing their role of «communists» of the «Balli kombëtar», the «Zjarri» Group members had propagated and defended the cause of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The rapid growth of the national-liberation movement under the leadership of the CPA, as well as the defeats the fascist armies had suffered on the Eastern and other fronts of the Second World War still further deepened the crisis among the ranks of the invaders and their collaborators in Albania. In January 1943 the Italian fascists removed Mustafa Kruja from the office of prime minister for being incapable of suppressing the national-liberation movement, and set up a new Quisling government. But after only one month they were compelled to replace this government also with another one. The latter, too, had a very short existence. Meanwhile among the ranks of the Albanian soldiers, militiamen and carabinieri mass desertions began to take place.

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[1] J. V. Stalin, «On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union», Tirana, 1952, p. 100.

The Italian governors themselves were compelled to admit the failure of their policy in Albania. On his part, Hitler, too, in February 1943 wrote to Mussolini that the Albanians, like the other peoples of the Balkans, «had shown very little proof of being trustworthy», and he described «the unbounded hatred» of the Albanian people against Germany and Italy as «a harsh reality».[1]

In order to preserve their occupation regime, the Italian fascists considered it imperative to intensify the use of violence. In February 1943 the fascist Viceroy Jacomoni was replaced by General Pariani, who was regarded as being a man «who knows how to speak with force of arms and who is able to make use of this force». The Italian Command drew up a plan for a series of major operations in various regions of the country.

For this purpose the aggressors sought and found the support of the «Balli kombëtar». In March 1943 the Central Committee of the «Balli kombëtar» with the Italian commander-in-chief signed the secret Dalmazzo-Këlcyra protocol,[2] on the strength of which it undertook to prevent any assault against the Italian troops and to help them in their punitive operations in Southern Albania.

Simultaneously the Italian fascists appointed a member of the «Balli kombëtar»[3] as prime minister of the Quisling

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[1] «Secret Letters Exchanged Between Hitler and Mussolini», Paris, 1946, p. 150.

[2] The protocol was so called because it was signed by Renzo Dalmazzo, Commander-in-chief of Italian forces of occupation, and by Ali Këlcyra, Member of the Central Committee of the «Balli kombëtar».

[3] Maliq Bushati.

government, proclaimed the creation of the «Albanian National Army» and of the «Albanian Gendarmerie», the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Italian State and the «Albanian State», the substitution of the «Albanian National Fascist Party» with the «Guard of Great Albania» and so on, all this within the framework of the «Union of Albania with Italy» and with Victor Emmanuel III as «King of Albania».

Both parties to the protocol aimed at extracting advantages from the false ideas spread about the «creation of an independent Albanian State». While the Italian fascists sought to strengthen the shaken faith of the reactionary nationalists, to exploit them as far as possible in suppressing the national-liberation movement, the internal reaction headed by «Balli kombëtar» hoped to seize political power, however the situation might change.

On the Order of the Day — the Organization of the General Uprising

The deep crisis among the enemies, the extension of the armed struggle, the growth of the patriotic revolutionary consciousness of the people and the propitious international circumstances placed on the order of the day the organizing of the general uprising of the Albanian people and of the National-liberation Army.

In carrying out this task, a historic role was played by the First National Conference of the CPA. It was held in Labinot near Elbasan from March 17 to 22, 1943. Seventy delegates and guests took part. The delegates had been elected at district Party conferences during February and at the beginning of March. They represented nearly 700 Party members.

The conference fully endorsed the activity of the Provisional Central Committee and reached the conclusion that the political line of the Party was correct, having been corroborated by practice.

The problem of preparing the people for the general uprising and its organization occupied first place in the deliberations of the conference.

While stressing the great progress achieved in the anti-fascist struggle, the First National Conference of the CPA drew the attention of the Party organizations to the difficulties that lay ahead, to the intricate problems which had to be solved in organizing the general uprising and ensuring complete victory. The masses of the people were under the direct pressure of the hostile propaganda of the «Balli kombëtar» and other reactionary groups, under the unremitting menace of fascist terror. As a result, now and then cases of wavering and indifference, where the CPA policy was not understood as it ought to be, had been noticed; a section of the population was being deceived by the «Balli kombëtar».

The pending tasks for strengthening the links of the Party with the broad masses of the people and preparing them for the general uprising were worked out through a sound criticism of sectarian and opportunist manifestations.

Reminding the communists that the workers were the pillar of the Party, the conference urged the Party organizations to come into closer contact with the masses of the workers in mines, factories, building sites and elsewhere, especially in the main industrial centres of the country: at Kuçova, Selenica, seaports, and so on.

This conference also condemned the erroneous opinion of Tuk Jakova who maintained that there was no proletariat in Albania. This groundless point of view had been rejected already at the Meeting of the Communist Groups. By now the Albanian working class had its own Communist Party through which it was playing the leading role in the National-liberation War.

The conference pointed out the progress which had been achieved in the work with the peasantry, the major part of whom regarded the Communist Party as their own. However, not all the peasantry in all the regions of the country, especially in the North, took an active part in the war against the invaders and traitors and accepted the leadership of the Party. The «Balli kombëtar» had concentrated its efforts in the countryside. The Party had to face the urgent task of maintaining and strengthening its ties with the peasants, of detaching the «Balli kombëtar» from the masses of the peasants. To a great extent, the preparation and the outbreak of the general uprising depended on the solution of this task. Emphasizing the very important role of the peasantry in the National-liberation War, the conference directed:

> «We should attach particular importance to work in the countryside, because the peasants make up the great majority of our people, and consequently it is there that we should look for the main source of our forces in the present war».[1]

The conference considered the alliance of the working class with the peasantry as the surest weapon in the National-liberation War. It instructed the communists to broaden and to improve their political, explanatory and organizational work in the countryside. First and foremost it was required that they should enliven the national-liberation councils and draw more and more peasants into the partizan units and territorial detachments. At the same time, the peasants should be roused in struggle against all sorts of taxes, fines, speculations, robberies and all other forms of oppression and exploitation by fascism and its Albanian tools; illiteracy should be combatted and culture spread in the countryside.

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[1] Resolution of the First National Conference of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 113.

Although the majority of the wealthy peasants had crossed or were crossing over to the «Balli kombëtar» against the National-liberation War, the conference demanded, as in the past, that the broad peasant masses should be drawn into the struggle without any discrimination as to class.

An important place at this conference was taken up by the work with the youth and the women.

The enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian youth, their readiness to undertake any sacrifice, the tireless work of the Party and the Communist Youth organizations were stressed. Sectarianism, the concentration of the activity mainly on the school youth, the insufficient work done with the peasant youth and, finally, some trends of parallelism with the Party work, which had been observed in the Communist Youth leadership, were criticized as shortcomings. The youth, the conference emphasized, is the vital source of the new forces of the Party, the inexhaustible force of the National-liberation War. For this reason, the Party line toward the youth had to be more deeply understood, a sounder activity with the youth masses in the towns and the villages had to be carried out, the Party giving greater assistance in this so important sector.

The problem of the women was considered as a problem of prime importance and was viewed in its two principal aspects: drawing the masses of women into the national-liberation movement, and their social emancipation. Women could and should play an important role in the anti-fascist war and in social life. To attain this objective, it was necessary, above all, for the Albanian women themselves to deeply understand the age-long slavery and the harsh oppression of the invaders, to rise up against them, becoming resolute fighters for the national liberation and a happy future. The communists were particularly instructed not to confine their work to intellectual women alone, but to go to the masses of housewives, peasant and worker women, as well.

In the work with the youth and women, the conference gave first importance to their organization. It issued directives for the formation of an Albanian anti-fascist youth organization and the anti-fascist women's front.

Great care was devoted to the attitude toward the nationalists and to collaborating with them.

The ranks of the nationalists were continually sifted by the revolutionary course of the National-liberation War. A good part of them, especially the representatives of the middle bourgeoisie, had joined or were continuing to join the National-liberation Front. Others maintained a neutral attitude, having no trust in the people's forces, not thoroughly understanding the character of the National-liberation War, and being skeptical about the collapse of fascism. Those groups of nationalists, who represented the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the big landowners, either aligned themselves with the «Balli kombëtar» or awaited a more favorable occasion to take a definite attitude toward the National-liberation War.

So complicated a sector as the work with the nationalists was fraught with the danger of committing grave blunders and taking open sectarian and opportunist postures. The First National Conference of the CPA criticized the lack of patience and tact shown by some communists and organizations toward uncommitted and wavering nationalists and those who had already joined the «Balli kombëtar». It demanded the greatest forbearance to achieve a sincere unity or collaboration with the nationalist elements. The communists were charged with working tirelessly with all those who hated the invaders and wished to fight against them, even with those who seemed obstinate, to convince them and make allies of them, however unstable they might be.

Still more vigorously criticized were those communists who had manifested tendencies of kneeling under the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Such irresolute elements had gone so far as to express the opinion that the Party should give up its individuality and merge with the national-liberation movement.

> «These views,» the conference pointed out, «lead to the liquidation of the Party».[1]

It laid down the task of strengthening the individuality and the leading role of the Party within the National-liberation Front, still more popularizing the Communist Party as the standard-bearer of the struggle for the liberation of the people from fascism and for the rights of the poor strata of the population.

The conference dealt in particular with the stand to be taken toward the «Balli kombëtar» which was carrying out a two-faced, reactionary, anti-national policy. Its chiefs were exposed as utterly conservative and reactionary elements, always ready for any kind of collaboration with the invaders. They opposed the National-liberation War because it opened the eyes of the people, raised their consciousness and drew them away from all those who were deceiving, oppressing and exploiting them.

In the «Balli kombëtar», however, there were a considerable number of persons, especially in the countryside, who were eager to fight against the invader.

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[1] Ibid., p. 111.

> «With them,» the conference pointed out, «it is possible to build a common militant, national-liberation front».[1]

Only the participation of the «Balli kombëtar» in the armed struggle against the fascist invaders could make it possible for it to join the National-liberation Front. All means should be used to bring this about, including even negotiations with the «Balli kombëtar» representatives. The conference, however, criticized as opportunist any idea that the whole work with the «Balli kombëtar» in particular and the nationalists in general was to be carried out only through negotiations and political combinations. It re-emphasized that major importance was to be attached to the work with ordinary, honest, rank and file members of the «Balli kombëtar» to establish militant links with and launch them into actions against fascism. The pressure from below and the armed struggle against the invaders would bring about a differentiation within the «Balli kombëtar» and detach the masses from their reactionary chiefs.

The Party would continue more intensely the exposure of the defeatist propaganda of the «Balli kombëtar», especially its slogan that «the time has not yet come»; it would fight all collaborators of fascism, including those «Balli kombëtar» chiefs who had emerged or were emerging openly as such; it would expose the reactionary tactic about an allegedly «independent Albanian State» under fascist Italy.

In order to expand and strengthen the National-liberation Front and to proceed steadily toward the people's general uprising, Party organizations were required in the first place to always bear in mind the anti-fascist and national-liberation character of the war, and not to allow distortions of the Party policy in any field.

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[1] Ibid., p. 104.

> «We are not opportunists,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «nor have we forgotten in the least our more remote tasks, but before reaching that stage we must accomplish our most immediate tasks: to carry out the National-liberation War.»[1]

The conference defined the organization of the National-liberation Army as the main link of the general uprising. This army was being founded in the course of the vigorous development of partizan warfare. Under these circumstances, it was decided:

> «From the partizan and volunteer units to set up a regular National-liberation Army, which will be a force striking terror in the hearts of the invaders and a sure and powerful guarantee for the liberation of the people».[2]

Accordingly, the organization of the army, the military detachments and units, of the district staffs and the General Staff, the problems of supplying them with arms, ammunition, clothing and food, questions of combat tactics and the political training of the fighters, etc., were worked out.

Emphasizing the absolute necessity and decisive importance of organizing the National-liberation Army for the general uprising to achieve victory over the enemy, the conference demanded that the communists thoroughly realize that the principal sector of the Party work at that time was the army.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, «The Directives of the Communist International and the National-liberation War». Report delivered at the meeting of the CC of the CPA, February 1943. Works, Vol. I, p. 230.

[2] Resolution of the First National Conference of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 114.

Further Strengthening Party Unity

At this conference, the organizational problems of the Party were discussed in close connection with its political line and with the fundamental question: the general uprising.

The strengthening of its unity was regarded as the greatest victory in the internal life of the Party. This was an absolute necessity, if the militant union of the people under the leadership of the Party in the National-liberation War was to be ensured. The conference approved the decisions taken by the Extraordinary Conference of June 1942, the measures adopted by the Provisional Central Committee to smash the liquidatory factionist current, and its Marxist-Leninist stand against the «Zjarri» Group.

Even after their expulsion from the Party ranks Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte not only did not give up, but on the contrary increased their hostile activity against the CPA and the national-liberation movement. At this time, the same stand had to be taken toward them as toward the other traitors and enemies to the Party, to the people and communism. The conference instructed the communists to always stand vigilant, to combat relentlessly all alien anti-Marxist ideas, all Trotskyites and deviators, and all deserters from the ranks of the Party and the national-liberation movement, never forgetting that the enemy would continuously attempt to infiltrate his agents into the ranks of the Party.

The conference considered the steel-like discipline of the Party as the prime condition for upholding and further strengthening Party unity. At the same time, in spite of the war conditions, it did not neglect the development of internal Party democracy. It laid down the tasks of opposing any attitude of commandism within the Party, of strengthening criticism and self-criticism. The communists, Party cells, and lower Party organs should not await everything from above. The strengthening of democracy and the development of initiative would raise the capabilities of the communists and of the Party organizations, would raise their leading role to a higher level, would further develop the sense of responsibility of the cadres and would ensure closer links with the masses.

A particularly important task was to establish Party organizations on a broad scale in the countryside,

> «because without them the work of the Party and the National-liberation War will not be successful».[1]

The conference gave the instruction to improve the composition of the cadres by unhesitatingly elevating to posts of responsibility young communists who had given proof of outstanding self-sacrifice and allegiance to the cause of the people and of communism.

The conference attached great importance to the ideological and political training of the communists. It stressed that in the complicated conditions the young Albanian communists would not be able to accomplish their difficult tasks with honor unless they mastered the Marxist-Leninist teachings. The views of a number of communists who maintained that in time of war there was no need for books, but only for guns, were criticized. «We must have both books and guns,» the conference stressed, and called on the communists to surmount all difficulties and obstacles in the study of Marxism-Leninism.

Winding up its proceedings, the conference elected the Central Committee of the CPA composed of 15 members and 5 candidate members, among whom were Enver Hoxha, Nako Spiru, Hysni Kapo, Gogo Nushi, Mehmet Shehu, Vasil Shanto, Ramadan Çitaku, Kristo Themelko, Petro

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[1] Ibid., p. 117.

Papi and Sadik Bekteshi. The conference also elected the Political Bureau of the CC with Enver Hoxha as Secretary-General of the CPA.

All the decisions were taken unanimously.

The First National Conference expressed its confidence that the Communist Party of Albania would resolutely forge ahead under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, accomplishing its important tasks with honor, thus ensuring complete victory for the Albanian people.

> «No force on earth,» wrote the conference delegates to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, «will be able to make our Party renounce the great ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the ideals of the Communist International».[1]

The decisions of the First National Conference played a great historic role in the all-round strengthening of the CPA as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party. The conference worked out in greater depth and breadth the general Party line on the basis of the experience accumulated.

5. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION ARMY AND OF THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL UPRISING

After the First National Conference, the political and organizational work of the Party was concentrated mainly on preparing the people for the general uprising, first and foremost on organizing the National-liberation Army.

The Party called on the Albanian people, workers and peasants, young people and women, nationalists and patriotic intellectuals, to unite all their forces and place them at the service of the struggle against the fascist invaders and traitors. As many as possible should join the ranks of the partizans so that new detachments could be created and the armed struggle intensified to the point of the general uprising.

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[1] The minutes of the First National Conference of the CPA. Central Archives of the Party.

> «Our country's fate,» the Party taught the people, «depends on the war we are waging, and the more widespread and fierce this fight against the invaders, the sooner will come the day of liberation.»[1]

Exposing the «Balli kombëtar» propagandists who trumpeted about that the Albanians could not fight against Italy, nor had they need to, as the latter would be crushed by the allies who would bring freedom and independence(!) to Albania, Enver Hoxha wrote in «Zëri i Popullit»:

> «What would happen if the whole world were to reason like these «great politicians»? . . . One very simple thing would happen . . . tiny Albania would be a vassal of Mussolini for ever. . . .
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> One for all and all for one. . . . Russia, England, America wage their war with great armies, tanks and aircraft; but that does not mean that we should not carry on our war, be it with the only gun we possess. . . . Wars are not waged with roses and cotton wool, but with suffering and bloodshed».[2]

Along with a broad political activity among the masses of the people, the communists increased their underground work with the Albanian soldiers, gendarmes and policemen, among all those who had been deceived into the service of the invaders as well as among the Italian soldiers and workers stationed in Albania. Leaflets of political propaganda in Italian were distributed to the latter.

Responding to the call of the Party and inspired by the intensified activity of the communists, hundreds of young men and women came to fill the ranks of the partizan detachments. Most of the middle school students took to the mountains and joined the freedom fighters. The partizans were joined also by patriots who had deserted from the enemy military formations. In less than three months the number of the partizans had doubled. In May 1943, the first battalions and regional staffs were formed. By July, in Albania were operating 20 partizan battalions and 30 smaller fighting units.

Crushing a Faction in Vlora District

While the whole Party was occupied carrying out the tasks laid down by the First National Conference for the preparation of the general uprising, in the Vlora district Sadik Premte and Pali Tërova, enemies to the people and communism, in great secrecy set up a faction plotting against the CPA. In fact they had started organizing their faction precisely at the time when the principal Party leaders of the Vlora district were away for the First National Conference of the CPA. Taking advantage of the absence of the leadership and of lack of sound Marxist-Leninist vigilance, discipline and training of the rank and file communists, they succeeded in deceiving and winning over a number of Party members, as well as the command of the Vlora Veteran Partizan Detachment. In April the factionists announced that they did not recognize the Vlora Party District Committee and called for the convocation of a so-called «party conference» which was to revoke the district committee, and elect a new one with Sadik Premte and his close friends at its head.

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[1] Call of the CC of the CPA to the Albanian people, April 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 123.

[2] Enver Hoxha, «The Barbarities of Fascism and of Its Henchman Mihailovich», March 1943. Works, Vol. I, pp. 246-247.

The objective of this hostile faction was to seize the reins of the Party organization and put under its control the command of the partizan detachments of the Vlora district, to exterminate the resolute communists and, first and foremost, the leading cadres, to end the liberation war in the district and then to carry their destructive work over to the other regions of the country, to overthrow the Central Committee and to completely smash the Communist Party. For this purpose, the traitors had reached an agreement with the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs to act in collusion with them. Through machinations and slanders, with the support of the «Balli kombëtar», they tried to raise the rural population in arms to strike a blow at the Party and the partizan detachments. Simultaneously they sent letters to a number of communists in various districts as well as to the Gjirokastra District Committee. In those letters, as a pretext for their revolt, they put forward the allegedly «unjust» decisions of the Party against Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and other dissidents, and sought support.

The grave situation in the Party organization of the Vlora district was correctly considered by the Central Committee as a great challenge to the whole Party. Secretary-General Enver Hoxha went there to lead the fight against the faction.

The struggle to wipe out this faction was conducted under the slogan «the Party above everything». At gatherings, meetings and talks, in the first place, with individual Party members, Comrade Enver Hoxha, together with the District Committee Secretaries Comrades Hysni Kapo and Mehmet Shehu, laid bare the real aims and the great danger inherent in the hostile activity of the faction. Almost all the misled communists thoroughly comprehended

the mistakes they had been led into by the traitors and severed all connections with them. Information on Sadik Premte's treachery was given also to the people of the Vlora and Mallakastra regions, who, together with the Party, took an active part in smashing up this faction. In May everything had come to an end. Sadik Premte, exposed as enemy of the people and of the Party, managed to escape by going to Vlora, then occupied by the Italian fascists.

After the liquidation of this hostile faction in the Vlora district in June 1943, the Central Committee, in a special circular letter, in which the roots and aims of this faction were laid bare, instructed all the communists:

> «This painful experience should serve as a lesson for all the Party organizations, especially for the Vlora organization. . . . Our fight against these base enemies should be carried out with the greatest severity . . . we should hate these people and ruthlessly deal them hard blows wherever they raise their heads».[1]

The Vlora events served as a lesson for the entire Party. They helped the communists to thoroughly grasp the danger threatening the Party from the acts of these enemies, to reinforce their discipline and increase their vigilance and militant spirit in their revolutionary activity. No other events such as those of Vlora were ever to take place up to the end of the war.

General Staff Set Up While the Party was fighting to wipe out the Sadik Premte faction, the partizans and volunteers were dealing successive blows at the fascist invaders throughout the country. The most powerful of these were the assaults on Italian troops near the Selenica mine (April 1943), at Leskovik (May), on the Struga-Dibra highway (June), at Përmet-Kuqar-Mezhgoran and Kiçok-pass (outset of July). In the Përmet battle alone, the enemy lost over 500 killed. On July 6 the Albanian partizans also carried out their first attack on the German troops at Barmash on the Korça-Janina highway. At the same time, partizan fighting units together with the rural population beat back the military operations the Italian fascists undertook at Kurvelesh and Mesaplik (April), at Peza, Mallakastra, Tepelena and Shpirag (June). In these operations the invaders threw whole divisions against the partizans and the people. They massacred thousands of men and women, old people and children, burned down hundreds of villages, seized entire herds of cattle, but failed to obtain any military or political advantage. Their only achievement was to inflame still more the hatred and resentment of the people.

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[1] Circular letter of the CC of the CPA, June 17, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 146.

In the atmosphere of extraordinary revolutionary enthusiasm throughout the country, the Central Committee of the CPA proposed that the National-liberation General Council take up for discussion the problems of the war against fascism, which required urgent solution. The main problem to be tackled was the organization of the Albanian National-liberation Army.

The meeting of the General Council was held on July 4, 1943 in Labinot. There the formation of the General Staff of the National-liberation Army was agreed upon unanimously. Secretary-General of the CPA Enver Hoxha was chosen political commissar of the General Staff. On July 10 the National-liberation General Council and the General Staff informed the people of this important event by means of a special proclamation.

The General Staff carried through the organization of the Albanian National-liberation Army (ANLA) and concentrated in its hands the strategic and operative leadership of the armed struggle against the invaders and traitors, working out at the same time the tactics of this war. In order to centralize the direction of the partizan detachments in the various regions, district staffs and the staff of the 1st Operative Zone were set up. In some districts partizan groups subordinated to these staffs were formed. On August 15, 1943 the 1st Storm Brigade was set up. Comrade Mehmet Shehu was appointed as its commander.

At the time when the General Staff was formed, the ANLA was made up of about 10,000 fighters organized in permanent partizan detachments. Approximately twice as many volunteers served in the units of villages, towns and regions of both liberated and occupied areas.

Another most important measure to be taken by the General Staff was to organize the partizan military administration in the rear areas. «District» and «local commands» served as organs of this administration. They exercised the functions of the people's police in the liberated zones and were of great aid and support to the national-liberation councils and partizan detachments.

With the creation of the General Staff, the armed struggle entered a new stage, the stage of superior organization and rapid expansion, the stage of the people's general uprising. All over the country, National-liberation Army detachments and volunteer units backed up by the masses of the people rose to fight against the Italian and German invaders, the latter having just started to enter and move about on Albanian territory. The General Staff said in one of its orders:

> «So long as the armies of the Italian and German invaders have not capitulated unconditionally, so long as there still remains even one single armed

> fascist soldier on the soil of our dear Fatherland, our war must be carried on with the greatest severity».[1]

Nearly 1,000 enemies were killed in the battles fought by the partizans and people in July in Mallakastra and Tepelena, against the Italian divisions attempting to annihilate the National-liberation War bases in those regions. The fascists suffered heavy losses also in the Pojska battle on the Thana-pass-Pogradec highway. Bloody actions took place against the Italian troops especially in Burrel, in Shtama-pass and Buall-pass, where about 3,000 local inhabitants fought shoulder to shoulder with the partizans; in coordinated assaults in Zerqan and Sofracan of the Dibra district; in Kardhiq and Mashkullorë of the Gjirokastra district; in Vithkuq of the Korça district (August); in Reç of the Shkodra district (August-September). In these encounters the enemy lost about 1,500 killed. During this period the partizans attacked the German troops also in Konispol (August) and on the Elbasan-Tirana highway (early in September).

Frightened by the general uprising which had burst forth throughout the country, in July the fascist invaders proclaimed the entire Albanian territory an operational zone. The Italian commander-in-chief had to admit that «the majority of the Albanian people, without class distinction, have risen up against Italy and against the stationing of our troops in Albania».[2] He urged his headquarters in Rome to increase the number of the occupation armed forces to enable him to cope with the situation in Albania.

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[1] Order of 30th July, 1943. Documents of the General Staff and the General Command of the Albanian National-liberation Army, Tirana, 1965, Vol. I, p. 32.

[2] Commando 9-a Armata. Notizie mensili, Nr. 8, Agosto 1943.

The ANLA — the People's Revolutionary Army

Through the General Staff of the ANLA, the Communist Party fully applied the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the people's armed uprising under the conditions of Albania and solved the fundamental military, political and organizational problems of the National-liberation Army.

Even after the creation of the General Staff, the National-liberation Army was obliged to resort mainly to guerilla warfare, on account of the superiority of the enemy armed forces in number, and especially in ammunition, transport, liaison, food and clothing. Under these conditions frontal war would have been fatal for the national-liberation general armed uprising.

The fighting actions of the partizan detachments and units were essentially attacks carried out uninterruptedly and were outstanding for the masterly use of skilful manoeuvre, surprise, for the great initiative of the commands, of the brigades, groups and battalions, and for the efficient use of the terrain.

Through its partizan warfare the Albanian National-liberation Army had also to resolve a series of strategical problems. The Party had assigned it the mission of liberating the whole country through its own resources and, at the same time, of securing the establishment of the people's power and serving as armed support of this power.

Such tasks could be completed only by a regular army. That is why the CPA exerted so much effort for setting up the National-liberation Army and developing it into a regular army of the Albanian people.

In the beginning brigades were to be the biggest formations of the people's regular army. The General Staff drew up a special plan for successively forming a number of brigades which would gradually include the greater part of the detachments, battalions and groups in the various districts.

With the organization of the National-liberation Army and its uninterrupted growth there grew likewise the need for trained military and political cadres. But our Party did not possess such cadres at that time. Under war conditions, it was impossible for the General Staff and Council to open officer training schools. Commanders and commissars of the National-liberation Army were trained in the heat of fierce battle against the enemy from the ranks of the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals, from the staunchest partizan fighters, the bravest and most devoted to the cause of the people and Fatherland.

Even after the founding of the General Staff and to the end of the war, raiding the enemy's ammunition dumps and army depots was to remain the principal source of supplying the partizan units with arms and ammunition.

As to the supply of the detachments and units of the Albanian National-liberation Army with clothes and foodstuffs, these were mainly provided by the population of the cities and, especially, the countryside, as well as by raids organized against enemy depots. Regarding quarters, the partizan fighters were sheltered in the houses of the peasants and of the city dwellers in the liberated zones.

The Party attached primary importance to maintaining the high morale of the army. Each partizan fighter was ready to lay down his life for his country's freedom, for the Communist Party. The fighters' moral force had its roots in their high consciousness. They knew well what they were fighting for, they thoroughly understood the correctness of the political line of the Party, they were fully aware of the difficulties, privations and sacrifices required by the war, and they had unshakable confidence in the victory of the cause they were defending.

The moral figure of the partizan was raised still higher by his conscious discipline, his love for the people, for his comrades, his great honesty and exemplary conduct toward the population, his upholding the best traditions and customs of our country with the greatest care.

The high moral, political and military qualities of the partizan fighters were deep-rooted, for they were based on political conviction and democracy. Unlike the armies of the past which had to defend the interests of the reactionary classes, in the National-liberation Army the rank and file enjoyed equal rights and complete freedom to take part, along with their commanders and political commissars, in the political life of the country and in the solution of the various military, political and organizational problems of the army. All combat actions, political work, the activity of commanders, the partizans' and cadres' conduct, were submitted to the judgment and criticism of the collective. Orders from above embodied the demands of the rank and file fighters and the people themselves. Debates and a broad exchange of opinion were organized to find the best way to carry out these orders and the decisions and directives of the Party.

Democracy within the ranks of the National-liberation Army was the expression of its character as a people's army and derived from the principle that the masses play the decisive role as the makers of history.

This democracy in no way weakened military discipline, but, on the contrary, strengthened and made it more conscious; likewise, it did not damage the centralization of leadership, but, on the contrary, helped in realizing it.

The masterly use of the tactics of partizan warfare and the extremely high morale of the National-liberation Army made it possible to neutralize and overcome the enemy's superiority in numbers and means of warfare.

It was the Communist Party which forged the high moral, political and military qualities of those who fought in the ranks of the National-liberation Army.

Brigade, group, battalion and company commissars led the political work of the Party in the army detachments. At the same time, the political commissars were members of the staffs of the various partizan fighting units. The deputy commissars performed the duties of Party secretaries. The Party sent most of its best cadres to develop the political work in the army.

Communist youth organizations were set up in the army with a view to helping Party organs and cells.

Political commissars and deputy commissars and Party and youth organizations carried out broad political and educational work in the partizan fighting units, ensuring the vanguard role of the communists and of the young communists in the performance of their combat duties. They educated the fighters in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the Fatherland, the people and the Communist Party. They imparted to them the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Albanian people, Marxist-Leninist ideas, the principles of proletarian internationalism, love for all the peoples fighting against fascism. They implanted in the minds of the partizans and the people confidence in victory, and saw to it that the orders of the General Staff and various army commands were carried out to the letter.

The Communist Party enjoyed the confidence of and wielded the highest authority among the fighters and cadres of the National-liberation Army. The Party had won such confidence and authority through the example the communists set in battle and in their everyday life.

All the problems of the construction of the army, of its strategy and tactics and its military actions were solved in line with the directives and instructions of the Central Committee. Secretary-General Enver Hoxha was the principal organizer, leader and teacher of the National-liberation Army.

The formation of the National-liberation Army was a great political and military victory of the Party. The Communist Party of Albania, thus, succeeded in accomplishing one of its most decisive and difficult tasks.

Sham Patriotism of the «Balli Kombëtar» Exposed

This victory was achieved not only in the heat of battle against invaders and traitors, but also through a harsh political struggle with internal reaction, with the «Balli kombëtar».

To sabotage our armed struggle against the invaders, the «Balli kombëtar» resorted to all means and tricks ever used by the enemies of the people and revolution: slander, demagogy, frightening people with the «communist bogy», threats, intrigues, lies, false promises, the foulest murders of communists, of partizans and people's council members, striking secret agreements with the invaders in order to coordinate their actions against the revolutionary forces. In some cases, the «Balli kombëtar» succeeded in duping whole villages. There were peasants, instigated or threatened by the «Balli kombëtar», who refused to shelter the partizan fighters in their villages, to attack the Italian army during military operations, or to recognize the national-liberation councils.

Had such occurrences become widespread, they would have led to the neutralization of the peasantry, which formed the basis and main source of the national-liberation forces, thus jeopardizing the ultimate victory in the National-liberation War. This danger was averted by the resolute and well-pondered stand and actions taken by the Party, relying on its deep knowledge of the objective conditions, of the actual situation in the country.

The overwhelming majority of the peasantry wanted to fight against the invaders for the liberation of the country. This aspiration was fulfilled in actual deeds only by the Communist Party. The «Balli kombëtar» was opposed to fighting the fascists. This stand of the «Balli kombëtar» was in direct opposition to the aspirations and demands of the peasantry in particular and the people in general.

In the spring of the year 1943 a number of peasants misled by the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs heeded their «advice» and did not offer armed resistance to the Italian troops operating in their regions, nor did they leave when the latter entered their villages, believing that the fascists would do them no actual harm. However, the fascists burned their villages indiscriminately and barbarously massacred the men, women and children who had remained there. This was a bitter lesson for all those who had been deceived by the reactionaries.

In order to wreck the National-liberation Front, the «Balli kombëtar» organization worked ever more closely with the invaders and, together with them, took part in actions against the national-liberation councils and partizan fighting units. The «Balli kombëtar» gangs gave direct help to the Italian army in its punitive operations against the partizans and people of Kurvelesh, Peza, Mallakastra, Tepelena, Korça, Shkodra and other regions. The people's anger at the line pursued by the «Balli kombëtar» increased.

The Communist Party came out in support of the peasants in resisting the fascist plunder of their grain, dairy products and wool. Great success was achieved in this direction. Meanwhile the «Balli kombëtar», far from advising the peasants not to hand over their agricultural products to the invaders and the Quisling government, actually helped the enemy to plunder them. These actions of the «Balli kombëtar» increased their alienation from the masses.

Through extensive political work, the Communist Party propagated its line, the program of the National-liberation Front, denounced the manoeuvres of the fascist enslavers and Albanian traitors, exposed the substance and the real aim of each action and stand taken by the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs and gangs against the Albanian nation and people.

Thus the Albanian peasants were gradually convinced through their own experience that real victory over the fascist invaders and the traitors could only be achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party. The peasants were ever more deeply comprehending that their age-long dream of liberty and land could be achieved only with the Party, whereas the «Balli kombëtar» did not want to do away with oppression and exploitation.

The more the demagogy and treachery of the «Balli kombëtar» was exposed, the more the peasants and representatives of the other strata of the population rallied around the Communist Party. The masses of the people throughout Albania derided the «Balli kombëtar» wait-and-see tactics with satire such as: «Once there was a big grey ass which waited and waited and didn't crop grass», nicknaming it «Bishti kombëtar» (in Albanian **bisht** = tail).

The Mukje Agreement Rejected

The situation that had arisen required that everything possible should be done to avert a fratricidal war, which was being instigated in various ways by the fascist invaders. On the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, this question was taken up at the July session of the General Council. The council decided to make a final attempt to turn the «Balli kombëtar» organization from its road of treason and draw it into the national-liberation struggle. For this purpose, a delegation was appointed to negotiate with the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs on the following points: The «Balli kombëtar» was to join in the war against the invaders and to cease its activities against the national-liberation movement and the Communist Party; it was to purge its ranks of fascists, bandits and criminals; it was to recognize the national-liberation councils; through the war and common efforts against fascism to lay the basis for holding a conference, in which the «Balli kombëtar» would participate, where all questions of unity would be discussed and solved.

The first meeting with the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs took place in Tapiza near Tirana, and the second one in Mukje near Kruja on August 1st-2nd.

The «Balli kombëtar» chiefs agreed to meet the delegation of the National-liberation General Council for the sole aim of strengthening their position which had been severely shaken by the exposure of their treachery, so they could seize political power when Italy capitulated, which following the downfall of Mussolini was obviously only a matter of days.

In the discussions, Ymer Dishnica, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, who led the delegation, gave way under the pressure and demagogy of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the landlords. Far from stubbornly defending the line of the Communist Party and taking the correct stand agreed upon by the General Council toward the «Balli kombëtar», in Mukje he accepted an agreement which was in direct opposition to the interests of the national-liberation struggle and the Albanian people. Another member of the delegation, Mustafa Gjinishi, played an altogether negative role, coming out at this meeting as an ardent supporter of the claims of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Mukje agreement regarded the «Balli kombëtar» organization, which had sabotaged the National-liberation War and helped the occupiers in various ways, as a factor against fascism on an equal footing with the National-liberation Front. Instead of demanding that the «Balli kombëtar» join in the war against the invaders, Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi agreed to the demagogic demands of the «Balli kombëtar» for the «proclamation of independence» and for the «overthrow of the fascist assembly of April 12», in which almost all the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs had participated and which had never been recognized by the Albanian people. They accepted the «ethnical Albania» hoax, a weapon of the fascists and reactionaries to beguile the Albanian people into forgetting who their main enemy was at that time and to stir up antagonisms against the neighboring peoples. They accepted the proposal of the reactionaries to set up a «Committee for the Salvation of Albania» with equal numbers of representatives from the «Balli kombëtar» and the National-liberation Front. This committee was to be vested with the attributes of a provisional government.

The General Council and the power of the national-liberation councils, which arose from the people's revolutionary struggle, were completely forgotten. Without any authority from the General Council and of the Central Committee of the Party, Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi granted their approval to a proclamation of the «Committee for the Salvation of Albania», through which the people were to be informed of the Mukje decisions. Thus they fell into the reactionaries' trap.

The Communist Party of Albania was not against any agreement with the «Balli kombëtar». It had striven to draw the «Balli kombëtar» into the struggle against the foreign invaders and, on this basis, to make it join the National-liberation Front; had conducted negotiations and accepted the formation of «coordinating commissions» for the struggle against fascism, and so on. When the General

Council decided in July 1943 to conduct negotiations with the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs, it was a last attempt to turn the «Balli kombëtar» organization away from the road of treason to that of the struggle against the invaders. This attempt had to be made in the interests of the Fatherland and of the National-liberation War. But the Mukje agreement violated the interests of the people and of the Fatherland. It led the people astray and drew their attention away from the war against the invaders, giving the idea of a false union reached through bargainings from above. The Mukje agreement would have reduced to naught the great victories achieved in the anti-fascist war under the leadership of the Communist Party and, even worse, paved the way for political power to pass into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie who had not fired a shot and had not undertaken to fight against the foreign enslavers, but, on the contrary, had actually collaborated with them. Therefore, such an agreement was a betrayal of the people and revolution.

For this reason, on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Central Committee, immediately and without hesitation, rejected the Mukje agreement.

Right from the moment he had received the first documents couched in such ambiguous terms, Secretary-General Enver Hoxha apprehended that, at the Mukje meeting, «the orchestra had played under the baton of the «Balli kombëtar» » and, expressing great concern, instructed Ymer Dishnica:

> «... not to forget the interests of our Party. It should continue to be the organizer and leader of the National-liberation War, remaining as such and not becoming a faction in this war».[1]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Letter Addressed to Ymer Dishnica, August 6, 1943. Works, Vol. I, p. 334.

When the treachery became quite clear, he called the agreement «a complete capitulation to the «Balli kombëtar» », and wrote to Ymer Dishnica: *«You have fallen head over heels into the positions of the «Balli kombëtar» . . . . This agreement, which completely violates our political line . . . is denounced by the Central Committee».*[1]

While informing the communists of this grave violation of the decisions of the General Council and the political line of the Party, the Central Committee expressed its determination not to agree in any way whatsoever to share the fruits of the liberation war of the Albanian people and the people's democratic power with the «Balli kombëtar» or any other opponents of this war and this power.

The surrender of Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi caused confusion in the ranks of the people and played into the hands of the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs who used the Mukje agreement in their fight against the Communist Party. Under these circumstances, the Party organizations had to carry out broad explanatory work, exposing the reactionary content of the said agreement and the objectives of the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs who, with the help of the invaders, were attempting to seize the fruits of the liberation war of the Albanian people.

The National-liberation Councils — the Only People's Power

In order to further strengthen the unity of the Albanian people in their anti-fascist war, the 2nd National-liberation Conference was held in Labinot from the 4th to 9th of September 1943.

The conference took up the question of the people's democratic power as its principal issue. With the deepening of the revolutionary process of the war this question was assuming an ever greater importance, the more so as «Balli kombëtar» and reaction in general were exerting every effort to take state power into their hands.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Letter Addressed to Ymer Dishnica, August 9, 1943. Works, Vol. I, p. 340.

Under these circumstances the conference launched the slogan:

> «to have the national-liberation councils recognized as the sole people's power in Albania».[1]

The 2nd National-liberation Conference adopted a series of measures to strengthen and deepen the democratic basis and to centralize the people's power in Albania. It increased the General Council from 7 (elected at the Peza Conference) to 62 members. It worked out and adopted the Statutes and Regulations of the National-liberation Councils, documents of constitutional importance. It was decided to set up executive organs with their administrative-economic apparatus, at the General and district councils.

The conference recognized the Anti-fascist Youth Union, the Anti-fascist Women's Union, the Union of Anti-fascist University Students (recently created under the guidance of the Communist Party) as integral parts of the National-liberation Front and issued instructions to give them the greatest help and support possible. Like the National-liberation Front itself, they were not class, but mass organizations of the young people and of the women of the different classes and strata of the country, and had no program other than that of the National-liberation Front.

At the Labinot Conference the agreement of Mukje was publicly condemned as an act that violated the fundamental principles of the Peza Conference and ran counter to the interests of the war and the unity of the Albanian people.

As the «Balli kombëtar» organization continued its hostile activity against the national-liberation movement and pursued its collaboration with the Italian fascists, it was decided to take a clear-cut stand against it, to expose its anti-national and anti-people's policy, to denounce its demagogical slogans of unity, its attempts to sow discord and instigate fratricidal war. At the same time, instructions were issued not to reject, but to make use of every chance to collaborate with the «Balli kombëtar» and other political groups outside the national-liberation movement, but on the basis of the decisions of the Peza Conference and, above all, only if the «Balli kombëtar» and other groups would participate in the uncompromising and relentless war against the invaders, and if they would recognize the national-liberation councils as the sole people's power.

Such a stand would open the eyes of those who had been duped and would divide them from the reactionary chiefs.

The Labinot Conference did not harbor any hopes that the «Balli kombëtar» would give up its perfidious ways. It pointed out to the people that the «Balli kombëtar» chiefs were going further down the road of collaboration with the invaders and of overt war against the national-liberation movement.

Upholding the decisions of the Labinot Conference, the Central Committee of the Communist Party instructed the district committees:

> «. . . we should make it clear to the people that the «Balli kombëtar» is an assembly of splitters and instigators of fratricidal war. We should make the people see that the policy pursued by the «Balli

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[1] Resolution of the 2nd National-liberation Conference, September 8, 1943. Documents of the Higher Organs of the National-liberation People's Power, p. 58.

> kombëtar» chiefs will bring us to armed clashes with them, make all the people revolt against them so that the historic responsibility for this . . . falls, as in truth it should . . . , on the «Balli kombëtar» organization; we should prepare ourselves, prepare all those of the national-liberation movement, prepare the people as a whole for a clash with the «Balli kombëtar»; the «Balli kombëtar» is preparing for this clash and it should not catch us unawares. . .».[1]

On the final day of the conference, the news of the capitulation of fascist Italy was announced. This event changed the situation in Albania. The Communist Party of Albania drew new tasks from this newly created situation.

6. INTENSIFYING THE WAR AGAINST THE NEW GERMAN INVADERS AND CRUSHING REACTION

The capitulation of fascist Italy was announced on September 8, 1943. This came about as a result of the heavy defeats the German and Italian armies had suffered on the Soviet-German front, in North Africa, and the landing of allied troops in Southern Italy. Italy's capitulation was also brought about by the rapid growth of the resistance of the Italian masses against the war and fascism.

The Albanian people, who for four and a half years had waged a fierce war to throw off the yoke of the Italian invaders, had made their own valuable contribution to this victory.

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[1] Directive of the CC of the CPA, September 10, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 161.

The Situation After the Capitulation of Italy and the Country's Occupation by the German Nazis

The General Staff, in compliance with the capitulation agreement, immediately called on the Italian occupation army either to lay down its arms and surrender or to join the Albanian National-liberation Army and fight against Hitlerite Germany. The Italian commander-in-chief, however, failed to respond to this call. He ordered the Italian troops in Albania to surrender to the Germans. Only some 15,000 Italian officers and men who disobeyed this order surrendered to the National-liberation Army. The Communist Party of Albania saw to it that all those who had surrendered should be received everywhere in a fraternal manner, in spite of the atrocities the Italian fascist army had committed in Albania. All those responsible for war crimes would be brought to account and severely punished during or after the war, whenever they were caught.

Of the Italian soldiers who had surrendered to the National-liberation Army, about 1,500 men agreed to join the ranks of the Albanian partizan units and fight arms in hand against German nazis. The «Antonio Gramsci» battalion was formed as part of the 1st Storm Brigade of the Albanian National-liberation Army. The Italian soldiers who did not wish to fight were sheltered in the liberated zones of the country, where they were hospitably received by the Albanian peasants, in spite of the extraordinary economic difficulties they were up against.

In place of the Italian invaders in Albania came the German aggressors. They were met with fierce fighting everywhere. On the Struga-Librazhd highway, at Drashovica near Vlora, at the Kardhiq bridge near Gjirokastra, along the Elbasan-Tirana highway, at Kruja, Konispol, Delvina and Saranda, at Bilisht, along the Korça-Leskovik highway, and at other places, the National-liberation Army units inflicted heavy losses on the new invaders and prevented them from deploying over the entire territory of Albania. The major part of the regions and a number of towns remained free.

The German invaders stationed in Albania an armed force of about 70,000 men. Once established in Albania, they assumed the task of crushing the national-liberation movement and of making the Albanian people a satellite of Germany. To attain this objective, the nazis at first made use of tactics which aimed at disguising the occupation regime and at deceiving the people who had allegedly won their «national independence» through «the creation of a sovereign Albanian state». They loudly proclaimed that they had come «as friends» just to «liberate Albania from the Italian yoke»; that the German army «would guarantee the independence of the Albanian people, if they would give their assistance in the war against communism»! They called on all those who had taken to the mountains to surrender their weapons and return to their homes, as their mission had been accomplished with the help of the German army! The Hitlerites instigated and aided the traitors to proclaim «the secession of Albania from Italy» and to create the organs of «the independent Albanian state» such as the «Executive Committee», the «Regency», the «Albanian government», the «Albanian army», the «Albanian gendarmerie», and so on. These manoeuvres were very loudly propagated by the reactionaries.

But no matter what tactics they resorted to, the Hitlerites could by no means conceal the aggression they had committed against Albania. The Communist Party had made it clear in due time to the Albanian people that the German nazis were the most savage enemies of mankind. On the first day they set foot on Albanian soil they razed the village of Borova to the ground and massacred the entire population, even children in cradles.

Neither were the Germans able to conceal the establishment of a barbarous regime of occupation in Albania. Along with their proclamations of «respecting» and «guaranteeing» the national independence of Albania, they issued directives on the disarming of the whole population, on shooting or hanging from 10 to 30 Albanians for every German soldier killed, for every act of sabotage, for all concealed weapons, military materials or foodstuffs! A curfew was imposed throughout the country. The «Regency» and the Quisling government could take no decision without the approval of the German occupation command. The Hitlerites seized the National Bank and all the economic resources of the country.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, were not deceived by the nazi demagogy. They carried on their struggle against the new aggressors with even greater vigor. Before one month had passed the Hitlerites were fully convinced that the Albanian people were mortal enemies to them as well as to any collaborationist «Regency» and «Albanian government».

In the autumn of the year 1943 the National-liberation Army detachments and units launched powerful attacks on the Hitlerite troops and reactionary forces throughout the country, killing thousands of them. On October 18, 1943 the ANLA artillery shelled the Quisling assembly convened on the initiative of the German command. On that same day, the CPA distributed in Tirana leaflets with the headlines: «How do the Albanian people reply to the Gestapo assembly? WITH GUNS!»[1]

Besides the battles fought by the Albanian National-liberation Army, various acts of diversion were carried out by guerilla units in occupied regions and cities. These actions became more frequent and better organized.

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[1] Proclamations and Leaflets of the CPA, 1941-1944, Tirana, 1962, p. 310.

The Central Committee of the CPA followed the course of events with greatest attention and carried out vigorous activity in order that war against the new invaders should be waged unremittingly and more fiercely throughout the country. The moment it was informed that the Berat District Staff led by Gjin Marku had allowed the German soldiers to enter the liberated town of Berat for a short time, it condemned this act as a crime and severely censured the Berat District Staff.

> «We might have expected anything from a partizan command,» Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote at that time to the Berat District Staff, «but to come to terms, be it even for a single minute, with the greatest enemy of our people and of mankind, this was beyond our imagination. . . . Even if you were to lose the entire army, even if the whole work already achieved were to be imperilled, never at any time should you have come to terms with the barbarous nazis».[1]

A new situation arose in Albania following the occupation of the country by German troops. The distinctive feature of this situation was the aggregation of all reactionary groups, trends and forces around the new invaders and their going over to open general war against the national-liberation movement.

Internal reaction felt more and more incapable of coping with the situation with their own forces. The helplessness of the reactionaries and the concurrence of their objectives with those of the German invaders prompted the Albanian traitors to seek the open backing and protection of the nazis and to put their forces under the German command.

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[1] Letter Addressed to the Berat District Staff, November 5, 1943. Central Archives of the Party.

Crushing Internal Reaction — an Indispensable Condition for Successfully Fighting the Invaders

The «Balli kombëtar» organization, the tribal chieftains, the upper clergy of the Catholic Church and all the fascist politicians immediately aligned themselves with the German invaders. The chiefs of the «Balli kombëtar», the representatives of the clergy and other reactionary trends took office in the puppet «Regency», government and other high organs of the Quisling administration.

Now that the «Balli kombëtar», persisting in their way of treason, had openly joined the German nazis in their war against the national-liberation movement, the Communist Party and the General Council were obliged to reply to these tools of the invaders with armed struggle.

> «Under present circumstances, any unity of actions with the «Balli kombëtar»,» the Central Committee of the CPA instructed, «is out of the question. Now it is a matter of crushing «Balli kombëtar».»[1]

It was precisely at this time that the treason of Abaz Kupi and the Zogites became apparent. Having refused to take part in the Labinot Conference, Abaz Kupi deserted the National-liberation Front. He had joined the Front with the ulterior motive of enhancing Zog's credit and hindering the growth, the influence and the leading role of the Communist Party. He had always acted according to the instructions of the British imperialists, who, by means of the Zogites, aimed at securing control of the national-liberation movement and post-war Albania. Having been unable to achieve this aim following the capitulation of Italy, Abaz Kupi thought that the propitious moment had come to annihilate the National-liberation Front and the Communist Party. In September 1943, with the aid of the British, he announced the formation of the «Legality» organization, and in November of the same year, convened a so-called «congress» of that organization. The «Legality» undertook the task of detaching the Albanian people from the Communist Party and rallying them around Abaz Kupi and his men who were to re-establish Zog's regime. Accordingly, the Zogites launched a propaganda campaign to represent Zog's regime as the only «legal» regime, idealizing it as a «regime of liberty, of tranquillity, order, peace and justice»! They then demanded that the various political parties, including the national-liberation movement and the Communist Party, rally under the banner of the «Legality»! At the same time Abaz Kupi joined forces with the Quisling government and the «Balli kombëtar» and relied on the German invaders for support.

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[1] Letter of the Central Committee of the CPA, October 1, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 177.

The nazis were willing to give Abaz Kupi and the «Legality» all their aid and support, although they well knew that these were puppets in the hands of the British. The Hitlerites and the Zogites were united by their immediate common objectives, namely, to crush the Communist Party and to do away with the national-liberation movement.

The Communist Party exerted all its efforts and made use of every possible means to persuade Abaz Kupi and the Zogites to give up their inimical stand toward the national-liberation movement and to join the armed struggle against the Germans, by aligning themselves with the National-liberation Front. Regarding the proclamation of the «Legality», the CPA made clear once again that it was not opposed to the creation of a Zogite party or any other political party in the country, but on one indispensable condition, namely, that all parties which might be created should fight against the invaders and take part in the common National-liberation Front.

In the actual circumstances, no party, no organization and no armed force outside the National-liberation Front could remain neutral, but was absolutely bound to serve the enemy. Therefore, despite all the attempts of Abaz Kupi to carry out the instruction of the British not to attract attention as a collaborator of the German invaders, he could not but fail to do so. At the beginning of December, the National-liberation General Council, after due deliberation on the criminal and anti-national activity of Abaz Kupi, decided officially on his expulsion from the General Council and the General Staff. At the same time, it issued instructions to denounce him as an enemy of the Albanian people, and the «Legality» as a traitor organization.

The passing over of the entire reaction to open armed struggle against the National-liberation Army and the National-liberation Front together with the German invaders denoted that a deep differentiation process of the internal political class forces was taking place. The revolutionary movement sorted out these forces into two blocs — mortal enemies to each other. On the one hand, the overwhelming majority of the Albanian people — the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the major part of the medium bourgeoisie of the cities, the patriotic intellectuals and some individual elements from the higher strata, were united and organized in the National-liberation Front under the leadership of the Communist Party. The principal striking force of the National-liberation Front was the National-liberation Army, while its external support was the Anti-fascist World War, first and foremost, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the landlords, the tribal chieftains, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the majority of rich peasants, the reactionary intellectuals and clergy joined heterogeneous organizations and groups which had no sound connections between them. The reaction had the detachments of the gendarmes and the bands of the «Balli kombëtar», the Zogites and tribal chieftains as its armed force. The reactionary organizations and armed forces did not constitute an independent bloc in itself; they were at the service of the nazi invaders and relied mainly on their support.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party, considering the struggle against reaction as an integral part of the general struggle against the invaders, issued the instruction that all the reactionary organizations and armed forces outside the National-liberation Front should be crushed by force of arms. The General Staff gave orders to the partizan detachments and units to purge all the liberated regions of reactionaries. The war could not have been successfully carried on and victory over the German nazis could not have been achieved without, at the same time, fighting their obedient tools.

The broad masses of the people immediately supported the Party's call to wipe out the «Balli kombëtar», the «Legality» and the other reactionary forces. They themselves demanded that such action be taken, because out of their own experience they had been convinced of the treachery of these organizations.

While it was compelled to fight, arms in hand, against the «Balli kombëtar» and the «Legality», the CPA did not retreat from its general line laid down at its Constituent Meeting and at its First National Conference. Just as previously, the national-liberation character of the war and the principle of rallying the entire Albanian people in the National-liberation Front without discrimination as to class, political opinion, religious belief or region, were upheld. The National-liberation Front remained open to all those «Balli kombëtar» adherents, Zogites and gendarmes whose hands were not stained with blood and who had abandoned the ranks of the reactionary organizations and armed forces. Instructions were issued that unceasing efforts should be made to detach the misled from their treacherous leaders.

In particular, the Party saw to it that there should be no slackening of the war against the German aggressors who remained the chief enemy.

No Foreign Interference in the National-liberation War

In the autumn of 1943 the National-liberation War of the Albanian people was confronted with another peril which came from the British-U.S. allies.

As far back as May 1943 representatives of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command had come uninvited to Albania. A British military mission to the General Staff of the National-liberation Army was established, to be followed later by an American military mission. There were British officers attached to some partizan commands as well. They justified their arrival in Albania allegedly as dictated by the common military interests in the war against Hitlerite Germany, and undertook, in words only, to aid the National-liberation Army with arms and war materials. In reality they came to Albania mainly for political aims. With these aims in view, they carried out subversive activity and became an obstacle to the war against the invaders and their tools in Albania. The British-American allies gave the greater part of their aid to the opponents of the national-liberation movement, to the reactionary forces. They set up special military missions to these forces and supplied them with arms, ammunition, clothing and gold. When the «Balli kombëtar» and the «Legality» aligned themselves with the Germans against the National-liberation Front, the British-American military missions neither departed nor cut off their aid. The Anglo-American Mediterranean Command began to exert great pressure on the General Staff not to launch any attacks on the reactionary forces. It demanded that the British and American officers should be recognized as playing the role of arbitrators in the internal affairs of the Albanian people.

As was proved in practice, the governments of Great Britain and of the USA had not the least intention of giving real aid to the national-liberation movements in the Balkans. They aimed solely at preventing the victory of people's revolutionary forces, at destroying the authority and the influence of the communist parties, and establishing Anglo-American control in the Balkan countries.

The Communist Party saw in the Anglo-American interference a threat to the victory of the revolution and national independence, and without any hesitation took a resolute stand against it. The General Staff warned the allied missions to give up interfering in the internal political and military affairs of Albania and obstructing the prosecution of the Albanian people's war against the Hitlerite invaders and their servants. All the British and American officers who continued to collaborate with the reactionary forces would be regarded as enemies. The Central Committee instructed the Party district committees that allied missions

> «should not interfere in our internal affairs, they should in no way be regarded as arbiters between us and the reaction. If our war against the reaction is agreeable to them, so much the better, otherwise the door is wide open for them to leave».[1]

Any allied representative who would not observe the principle of non-interference in our internal affairs would be escorted to the General Staff Headquarters and would forthwith be expelled from Albanian soil.

This revolutionary, resolute and correct attitude toward the Anglo-American allies was of major importance for the further development of the National-liberation War and for the fate of the people's revolution.

First and Foremost Strengthen the People's Power and the ANLA

In the new situation after the capitulation of fascist Italy, the question of political power became of even greater importance. Following the failure of the Mukje agreement — the most perilous attempt to undermine the power of the people's councils and the leading role of the Communist Party, the reaction resorted to new means to crush that power. The national-liberation councils were to be annihilated by armed force. In their stead, with the connivance and support of the German invaders, the former state power of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was to be re-established. The nazis unreservedly supported the idea of the ex-King Zog regime put forward by the «Legality». This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that they had established the Quisling «Regency», had appointed Zogites to top posts in the collaborationist government and gendarmerie, by the freedom the «Legality» enjoyed to publish and to distribute its press organs and carry on its activity in the cities and regions occupied by German troops. The reinstatement of the Zog regime was supported particularly by the British and American governments. At the time, Churchill held talks in London with ex-King Zog on the creation of a royal Albanian government in exile.

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[1] Directive of the CC of the CPA, November 3, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 200.

The Communist Party and the Albanian people dealt crushing blows to those manoeuvres. Confronted with this situation, the Central Committee instructed:

> «*The first question to be taken up is that of state power* . . . the establishment of the national-liberation councils everywhere, their reinforcement and their protection from all attempts on the part of the «Balli kombëtar» or any other party to sabotage them, or to combat them overtly. On this matter, there should be no ambiguity: there should exist no other power than that of the national-liberation councils. On this issue there should be no compromise and duality».[1]

The Berat and Gjirokastra District Committees were severely criticized for failing to take immediate steps, after the capitulation of fascist Italy, to do away with the apparatus of the former regime in their liberated cities, for having allowed this apparatus to come under the control of and to be used by the «Balli kombëtar». After that criticism, the mistake was corrected immediately in line with the instructions of the Central Committee.

The Party organizations carried out widespread propaganda and agitation work to expose the old regime as a regime of misery and oppression. They made it clear to the masses that political power is not granted nor donated by anyone, but, on the contrary, it should be seized by force, that the Albanian people themselves would decide their own destiny with the arms in their hands, that they would not allow the Zog regime to be imposed on them, that the British and Americans had no right to interfere in the question of the regime, nor in any other political and military affairs of the Albanian people.

To strengthen the people's power, a series of measures were taken on the basis of the decisions of the 2nd National-liberation Conference and of the Statutes and Regulations of the People's Councils, which had been approved at this conference. In all the liberated cities and regions elections for new national-liberation councils were organized and in some regions district national-liberation conferences were held. The people's councils were purged of wavering individuals. They were broadened and strengthened. The governmental activity of the General Council and of the district councils in the liberated regions and cities was improved and invigorated through setting up executive organs and the administrative-economic apparatus attached to them.

The national-liberation councils had the strong support of the masses of the people in all their activity.

The unity of the masses around the Party and the national-liberation councils was cemented still more by the founding of the Councils of the Anti-fascist Youth and the Anti-fascist Women throughout the country.

The main problem of the National-liberation War, on which the achievement of national independence and the establishment of the people's power depended, continued to be the reinforcement of the army. Complying with the instructions issued by the Central Committee in the autumn of 1943, the majority of the Party members and young communists joined the ranks of the National-liberation Army. Thousands of young men and young women from the ranks of peasants, workers and students responded to the call of the Communist Party to swell the ranks of the partizan fighting detachments.

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[1] Letter of the CC of the CPA, October 1, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 170.

By July 10, 1943, the National-liberation Army had doubled in size. Two new storm brigades — the second and the third — were formed in the following autumn.

The General Staff led the fighting operations, carefully directed and supervised the implementation of its plans for the formation of new brigades, groups and battalions, for the training of cadres and for securing supplies of food and clothing for the winter. It criticized and put on the right road those partizan commands which violated or failed to comply well with the requirements of revolutionary partizan warfare. It drew valuable lessons from errors committed by various detachments and units and took them up with all the partizan commanders. The General Staff severely criticized particularly some partizan commanders who undertook no assaults, but waited in position for the enemy. It drew important lessons from the attempts of the German command to put their tactics of anti-partizan war into operation. Measures were taken to completely defeat all these enemy plans. The attempts of the German nazis to engage the partizan detachments in frontal battles met with equal failure.

The successful prosecution of the war against the German invaders, the expansion and consolidation of the people's power, enhanced still further the authority of the Communist Party of Albania. The endeavor of the Hitlerites, of the internal reaction and of the Anglo-American imperialists to detach the Party from the people met with failure, too. The masses became more conscious of the need to wage an uncompromising war against the enemy through to final victory.

It was natural that the German invaders and the traitors would not be reconciled to this situation, that they would exert all efforts to change it to their advantage by launching relentless attacks on the Communist Party and the National-liberation Army.

The Central Committee warned the Party organizations not to become intoxicated by success, to look into things objectively and to grasp the situation aright, taking care not to be caught unawares, to train their members, to prepare the partizan fighters and the people as a whole to face the great difficulties which lay ahead. Above all, the Party should be made as strong as steel.

> «The burden on our Party is exceptionally heavy, and if we are to bear it and come out victorious we should have a sound and healthy backbone, we should have an organized and strong Party, we should have comrades with high political consciousness and military skill, capable of facing fascism in any eventuality without losing their bearings in these difficult and crucial moments and situations».[1]

7. THE CPA — ORGANIZER OF THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE TO FOIL THE ENEMY'S PLANS IN THE WINTER 1943-1944

In the winter of 1943-1944 the German invaders, with the help of their Albanian collaborators, mounted a broad campaign against the National-liberation Army with the aim of crushing it and annihilating the national-liberation movement. Four Hitlerite divisions and several thousands of gendarmes, «Balli kombëtar» adherents and Zogites, altogether about 45,000 men, participated directly in these operations. At that time the National-liberation Army had an effective strength of approximately 20,000 fighters dispersed all over Albania.

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[1] Circular Letter of the CC of the CPA, November 3, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 199.

If the enemy had numerical superiority in troops, his superiority in military equipment was overwhelming. On their part, the partizans stood in great want of arms, ammunition, food and clothing. Besides, they had to fight under the difficult conditions of winter in the mountains.

The Failure of the Enemy's Winter Operation

The great enemy operation was developed in two main phases.

In the first phase (November 1943 — January 1944) the Hitlerite and reactionary forces undertook a series of operations in Central and Northern Albania. The German nazis, supported by the Albanian traitors who acted as their scouts, launched simultaneous attacks from many directions. They succeeded in overrunning the regions held by the National-liberation Army detachments and units and created a very grave situation for the population and the partizans. The enemies inflicted great losses on the partizan battalions of the Elbasan and Dibra regions, of the Kruja, Mati and Tirana districts, on the 2nd and 3rd Brigades. Many partizans were killed in fierce fighting; some of them were cut off from their detachments and dispersed. Nevertheless, the partizans in Central and Northern Albania were not wiped out. After the operation, they were obliged to fight in small formations in the zones occupied or cut off by the enemies. In spite of the losses it suffered, the Peza fighting detachment succeeded in preserving its main forces, their fighting capacity and constant readiness.

The Central Committee and General Staff members with Comrade Enver Hoxha found themselves in a very dangerous situation, cut off as they were by the enemy in the Çermenike-Shëngjergj-Martanesh zone. The nazis, the «Balli kombëtar», and the Zogites left no means unexploited to detect and destroy the leadership of the National-liberation War. But they did not succeed. Many a peasant knew the places where they were sheltered, but not one of them was intimidated by the enemy's threats into betraying the Communist Party and the General Staff. The leaders of the Party and of the people, braving extreme dangers with heroism and presence of mind, with the help of the local peasants, broke out of the encirclement without suffering any losses.

Meanwhile, in Southern Albania the Hitlerites undertook localized attacks. Of these activities the most important were the operations in the regions of Mallakastra and Mesaplik.

Through these operations the German invaders aimed at keeping the partizan forces pinned down in Southern Albania, preventing them from going to the aid of the partizan detachments in Central and Northern Albania. These actions were also intended as a preparation for the decisive offensive against the National-liberation Army. Through incessant fighting, the enemies counted on wearing out the partizans, consuming their ammunition, discovering their combat capacity, seizing the initiative from their hands, weakening their morale, terrorizing the rural population through severe reprisals and, finally, on compressing the partizan forces into as small an area as possible, where they could more easily be encircled and wiped out.

The second phase of the enemy's great winter campaigns took place during January and February 1944 against the main forces of the ANLA in Southern Albania. In this operation the German invaders and the collaborators launched three successive offensives. Everywhere they came up against heroic partizan resistance. The heavy blows they were dealt, especially at Opar, at Tenda Qypit (Skrapar), in the surroundings of Përmet, at Kardhiq of Gjirokastra, at Vajza and Tërbaç of Vlora, caused them heavy losses in men and material and upset their plans. When the Hitlerites thought they had completed the encirclement of the partizan forces and expected them to surrender, the commanders of the National-liberation Army detachments, rapidly and skilfully regrouping their forces, outmanoeuvred the enemy, broke through the encircling forces and dealt sudden blows at his flanks and rear.

With the exception of some territorial battalions, the partizan brigades and groups operating in Southern Albania were not thrown into confusion and did not lose their combative spirit and efficiency, although they had to wage an unequal struggle in difficult circumstances.

At the same time, the Hitlerites pushed ahead with their operations in various regions of Central and Northern Albania, in Peza, in the Dajti region, in Tropoja and in other places.

The German invaders accompanied their major operations against the National-liberation Army with a reign of terror unprecedented in Albania. They plundered entire villages and reduced them to ashes. Thousands of men, women, old people and children were shot, slaughtered, burned alive, imprisoned and sent to extermination camps. The Albanian cities were turned into real concentration camps. At any time of the day or night the German nazis and their «Balli kombëtar» henchmen broke down doors, ransacked homes, plundered everything they could lay their hands on, took away men and women, young and old, beat and killed them out of hand, and threw their bodies into the streets and ditches. They loaded horses with the corpses of murdered partizan fighters they had captured or had dug out of their graves and paraded them through the streets or exhibited them in market places. On the day of the great massacre of February 4 in Tirana, the enemies wrote in their daily press: «Bleeding is a radical cure for the infected. Blood should flow in torrents through the streets of Tirana, if we are to re-establish peace and tranquillity. One day of terror ensures ten years of tranquillity». The regime of terror imposed on the Albanian people, however, failed to gain even a minute's tranquillity for Hitlerite hangmen and the Albanian traitors.

Besides terror and plunder, the German nazis and the reactionaries tried to starve the people into laying down their arms. They sealed off the cities and grain producing villages so that not even a grain of corn or wheat should go to the partizan bases in the mountains. But this attempt, too, met with failure.

In order to break the spirit of the people, the invaders and their stooges announced loudly and more than once that the partizans had been wiped out and the Communist Party had ceased to exist. But precisely at this time, the National-liberation Army seized the initiative and passed to the counter-offensive. Within February and March the partizan fighting groups and units in Southern Albania cleaned out almost all the regions that the German and reactionary forces had violated during their operations. In Central and Northern Albania, too, the partizan movement was not extinguished although those regions remained for some time under the control of the Hitlerite invaders and of traitors. The heroic march of a section of the 1st Brigade (February-March) deep into the enemy rear through the Çermenika, Golloborda, Mat, Shëngjergj, Peza and Dumre regions strengthened the confidence of the people in the ANLA and helped to invigorate the national-liberation movement in the Northern regions of the country.

The great operation of the German invaders and traitors in the winter of 1943-1944 failed. More than 1,000 partizan fighters lost their lives in encounters with the enemy, from cold, wounds and sickness. The ranks of the National-liberation Army, however, were neither thinned out nor weakened, on the contrary, they were increased and strengthened. The implementation of the plan of the General Staff to set up new brigades was not interrupted. The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Brigades were set up during this winter. In clashes with the enemy, through hardships and sufferings, the morale of the National-liberation Army was tempered to an unprecedented degree.

The commandants, the commissars and the rank and file were equipped with a rich military and political experience. There was also a great improvement in the armament situation of partizan detachments and units with weapons captured from the Germans in the fighting.

In their offensive, the invaders and the traitors lost almost three times more troops than the partizans. But their heaviest losses were of a political nature, especially since the major part of the reactionary forces began to see more clearly and more deeply the uselessness of the war waged against the National-liberation Front and to lose confidence in the success of this war.

The enemy did not succeed in destroying the majority of the national-liberation councils nor in bringing about the interruption of their activity. The national-liberation councils rendered great help to the National-liberation Army by providing food, clothing and means of transport and, especially, by providing it with new volunteers. They carried on a wide range of activities, maintaining the high morale and fighting spirit of the people, helping those damaged by the war and seeing to it that the peasant masses did not die of hunger.

During the operations of the 1943-1944 winter campaign the Communist Party, the National-liberation Army and the entire Albanian people stood the greatest and hardest test of the whole National-liberation War.

By foiling the enemy offensive, the Albanian National-liberation Army gave proof that it was an organized and

disciplined army, with high morale, loyal to the end to the Fatherland and to the people. Although in battle and on the march day and night, unclad, unshod, unfed, in high snowy mountains, the National-liberation Army fighters never lamented over their difficulties and privations, never lost faith in their victory and in the justice of the cause they were defending. Isolated partizans or partizan groups, cut off from their bases and surrounded, preferred to perish from cold and hunger or fall fighting rather than surrender to the enemy. There was nothing more sacred to them than to always hold high and unstained the name and honor of the National-liberation Army fighter. The commandants and commissars showed great mastery in making use of partizan warfare tactics and developed political maturity in appreciating situations, taking decisions and initiatives for independent actions.

Through its representatives in different regions of the country, the General Staff supervised the execution of its orders and the instructions which it had given previously, sized up military and political situations and issued new pertinent instructions. Although with widely dispersed forces, its control, assistance and leading role in the army were never interrupted. The greatest danger at that period was the slackening of the militant offensive spirit of the partizan detachments and units, and the rise of an atmosphere of rest and relaxation after an operation. The General Staff obviated all danger of that sort by demanding that the National-liberation Army be thrown without waiting into counter-offensive. Attack, the General Staff instructed, keeps the morale of the army high, saves time and energy, demoralizes the enemy, eliminates his superiority in numbers and equipment. Attack is the sole method of warfare appropriate to a revolutionary army. The offensive spirit of the combatants develops only in continuous struggle against the invaders and the reactionaries by seeking battle, and not waiting for it to come.

The high level of consciousness and the readiness of the Albanian people to make the heavy sacrifices required by the liberation war stood their hardest test in the critical winter period of 1943-1944. It was the support of the masses of the people that saved the National-liberation Army from annihilation, that encouraged it, multiplied its forces and enabled it to emerge victorious in this unequal war. The peasants never shut their doors to partizans wearied in battle, they shared with them the last piece of bread they had saved for their children. In towns, young men, young women and children, defying all perils, distributed Party propaganda material, maintained the links between the Party organs and the National-liberation Army. A number of young men, women and children gave their lives. Many of them were imprisoned and deported, but no enemy terror could shake their determination.

The traitors and the German nazis tried hard to detach the youth from the Communist Party and to compel them to give up their weapons. This is how the youth replied to the enemy calls and threats:

> «For the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth there exists only one course, only one decision: fight on to victory. . . . The Anti-fascist Youth are not afraid to face the gallows, they do not tremble under the shower of bullets, they are not discouraged by the attacks launched by the enemy and the traitors. They are confident in the victory of their cause and of the cause of the people. They are determined to win whatever the cost. And win they shall.»[1]

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[1] Reply, leaflet of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth Union, January 17, 1944. Central Archives of the Party.

Great Proof of the Correctness of the Political Line of the CPA

The inspirer and organizer of the resistance and of the heroic war of the National-liberation Army, of all the Albanian people at their most critical period during the 1943-1944 winter campaign was the Communist Party.

In this period, it was proved how sound and unbreakable were the bonds of the Party with the masses, how correct was its political line. At no time did the National-liberation Army fighters or the masses of the people lose their confidence in the Party. The sons and daughters of the Albanian people fell in the field of battle, died on the gallows and in the torture chambers, with the name of the Communist Party on their lips. Thousands of common men and women sacrificed everything to defend the Party from the blows of the enemy.

In the winter of 1943-1944, the ties of the Party with the masses became stronger still. The Albanian people saw more clearly and realized more thoroughly that the Communist Party was the sole leading force capable of ridding them of the foreign yoke, of winning their freedom and national independence, of defending their interests.

At their most critical moments, the fighters of the National-liberation Army and the popular masses everywhere, in town and country, in the liberated zones and in those under occupation, felt the Party's helping hand close to them, saw that the Party had not abandoned them; they were nurtured each day by its teachings and words of encouragement.

Even in the fiercest battles and during strenuous marches, the commissars of political sections, the Party organizations, carried on active all-round political work, always keeping high the morale and the fighting spirit of the partizans and not allowing any weakening of their confidence in victory. The meetings of the Party organizations were held in all circumstances, no matter how critical they might be. At these meetings, collective decisions were taken to ensure the success of combat actions, the vanguard role of communists both in coping with the problems of the war and enduring sufferings and privations. During the 1943-1944 winter period the number of Party members in the army was increased by admitting partizan fighters tested in clashes with the enemy and in complicated situations.

Party work was not slackened in the occupied cities and regions, though only a limited number of communists had remained there. The Party district committees reorganized the work of Party cells and of the Communist Youth activists to meet the state of terror and the savage persecutions of the enemy who aimed at wiping out the Communist Party by any means. The Party organizations in the occupied cities never ceased publishing and distributing bulletins, communiques, leaflets and proclamations addressed to the people. The enemies were infuriated by the fact that they could not discover the equipment with which these materials were printed and destroy the Party organizations. The most severe conditions of martial law did not succeed in stopping the activity of the national-liberation councils, the Anti-fascist Youth and Women's organizations, or the guerilla units. The daring actions carried out by the guerilla units according to the instructions of the Party district committees did not give the enemy a moment's respite or permit any fall in the morale of the urban population. The Party district committees paid great and continuous attention to the activity of each communist, always kept the Party members informed of events, never allowed them to fall into inactivity, issued instructions and assigned them concrete tasks. The communists paid particular attention to waverers, gave them heart and prevented them from falling victims to enemy pressure. They kept in touch with the political prisoners and those isolated, sick and wounded partizans who had been brought to the cities. Party cells were active in prisons and concentration camps. The Party district committees organized the collection of material aid, of clothing and medicines for the National-liberation Army, gathered information on the situation and the enemy plans and sent them to the partizan headquarters.

It was during the enemy's winter campaign that the valor, the spirit of sacrifice and the loyalty of the Albanian communists to the Party, to the people and to communism stood their hardest test. Many Party members, nine members of Party district committees, one brigade commissar and Candidate Member of the Central Committee Vasil Shanto gave their lives as true heroes in action against the Hitlerites and the reactionaries. The example set by and the heroism of the communists inspired the masses of the people to stand and fight against the occupiers and traitors.

The never failing leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally was of great importance at these critical moments. They were in permanent touch with the Party district committees and with the political organs of the National-liberation Army. The Secretary-General never lost his connections with the Central Committee members distributed throughout the country to lead the war from close at hand. These connections were maintained over a thousand obstacles and perils. They were not interrupted even at the moment when the principal Party leaders found themselves cut off in the Çermenika and Shëngjergji mountains. The leadership of the Central Committee studied reports and informations most attentively, drawing conclusions and summing up experiences from the activity of the Party organizations on each terrain and in each military detachment. It drafted and issued the necessary instructions, criticized errors and shortcomings and taught the comrades how to solve the complicated problems they faced. The Secretary-General kept all the members of the Central Committee in touch with all the problems of major importance, sought their opinions and their proposals about these problems.

Wherever there are people we must be with them, no matter how strong the reaction may be, instructed the Central Committee. This was the fundamental principle guiding the Party organizations in their practical activity, in order to keep up the morale of the masses at the grave moments the country was passing through and to eliminate the enemy pressure on the population. At that time, the Party leadership criticized the Vlora District Party Committee because for the moment it had lost its connections with the city.

Special concern was shown by the Central Committee for the youth, encouraging them not to give up and withdraw from the struggle, because the enemy, too, had centred their attention on them. Under the direct care of the Party leadership, all the attempts of the invaders and of traitors to persuade the youth to abandon the National-liberation Army were defeated. The uproar the nazis and the reactionaries raised about certain anti-communist statements fabricated by them and signed by isolated young men who had faltered in the difficult moments was exposed. The attempts of the enemy to win over the youth through sports clubs and cultural circles met with no success whatsoever. All attempts to create an allegedly «independent» youth organization were nipped in the bud.

As soon as Comrade Enver Hoxha was informed that in the Tirana District Party Committee the idea had been voiced of allowing some young men to declare that they «kept aloof from politics» in order to escape imprisonment and deportation, he severely criticized this attitude and warned against falling into any enemy traps. The Central

Committee also rejected a proposal to form a «Democratic Republican Party» with National-liberation Front elements for the alleged purpose of attracting to the front some «Balli kombëtar» members who were opposed to their chiefs. The formation of such a party was considered to be something altogether artificial and harmful to the liberation war.

The Central Committee devoted particular attention to preventing Party leaders in those very difficult circumstances from falling into pessimism and losing confidence in their own forces, in the forces of the Party and of the people. Criticizing some manifestations of pessimism observed during the 1943-1944 winter campaign, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed:

> «The situation is difficult, very difficult indeed . . . but it is precisely under such difficult circumstances that we must try not to lose our bearings. . .».[1]

Referring to the question of losses suffered by the 2nd and 3rd Brigades and some territorial battalions, he regarded it as a mistake to succumb to despair on account of these losses. There is no war without losses and without damage, he said. The main thing is not to lose the track, not to lose faith in our own forces and in those of the people, to know how to amass the forces, to manoeuvre with skill, to replace the losses, to be prepared for the worst and to be able to turn the situation in our favor. There is nothing more dangerous than losing the track and doing nothing in critical situations.

Above all the Central Committee took great care to protect the Party to keep its ranks pure and strong. It instructed the leading cadres to act not only bravely but also judiciously, not to take unnecessary risks. First and foremost they had to distinguish themselves as mature and wise political leaders, knowing how to organize the work in accordance with the circumstances, looking vigilantly into the tactics and means resorted to by the enemy whose aim was to destroy the leading cadres and to wipe out the Party organizations. The Central Committee insisted that the Party should be preserved from the provocateurs of the enemy who might have wormed their way into its ranks, paying particular attention to those who, in the past, had shown accentuated groupist tendencies, because such tendencies were liable to reappear in those difficult circumstances. The vigilance of the Party and the political tempering of the communists warded off dangers of that sort.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Letter Addressed to Comrade Nako Spiru, March 1944. Works, Vol. II, pp. 115-116.

Even in the grave circumstances of the 1943-1944 winter period, the Party found the time and the possibility to organize a course of study in Panarit of the Korça district with the participation of leading Party cadres of the National-liberation Army and some Party cadres from the region.

As a result of the attention and vigorous activity of the Central Committee and of all the leading organs of the Party in the army and other organizations, Party work was fruitful as never before. At no time had the Party been either as monolithic or mature as in this period. Confronted with the power and the authority of the Communist Party, all the attempts of the enemy to weaken and to smash it failed. All the attempts of the Hitlerite Gestapo and of the «Balli kombëtar» to create a «genuine Communist Party» and a «Social Democratic Party», which were to replace the Communist Party of Albania, came to naught.

The bitter battles and the great sufferings during the 1943-1944 winter period enhanced the revolutionary tempering of the Communist Party, of the National-liberation Army, of the national-liberation councils, and of the whole Albanian people, prepared them for the decisive battle in the war against the nazi invaders and traitors.

8. THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

After the failure of the enemy winter campaign, the National-liberation War assumed a new impulse in the spring of the year 1944. As early as March, the initiative had passed into the hands of the ANLA. In compliance with the General Staff order of April 5, the partizan detachments and units everywhere took the offensive. Almost all the regions south of the Shkumbini river were again liberated. The partizan movement in Central and Northern Albania became more active. The nazi invaders and the reactionary forces were again forced to ensconce themselves in towns, in barracks and in fortified centres along the main highways and the seacoast, under the perpetual menace of attacks by the ANLA fighters.

The intensification of the National-liberation War immeasurably deepened the crisis in the enemy ranks in Albania. Disorder began among reactionary organizations and armed forces. Gendarmes and «Balli kombëtar» adherents deserted in groups.

By May 1944, the National-liberation Army had grown to 35,000 fighters. It was strong enough to launch the general offensive for the liberation of the towns and of the whole country.

This prospect became still brighter as a consequence of the Red Army's brilliant victories over the German army. As far back as January 1944, the Red Army had mounted a gigantic offensive on the Eastern Front. Advancing irresistibly westwards, in April it entered Rumania. The

German troops in the Balkans were thus in danger of encirclement.

Smashing the Enemy's New Manoeuvres

Faced with this critical situation, the alarmed enemy left no stone unturned to find a way out and to change the situation in his favor. Great hopes were laid on a new large-scale operation the German Command was preparing against the National-liberation Army. In preparation for this operation, the Albanian reaction also was mustering all its forces. The Hitlerites counted on starting the operation in April.

But this was not possible because the ANLA upset their plans with its spring offensive and because their efforts to recruit mercenaries were foiled by the people's resistance.

At the same time, the Albanian traitors tried to play a new card. They intended to set up a coalition of the Greek and Albanian reaction, which would eventually be turned into a Greek-Turkish-Albanian military alliance. According to the enemy's plan, the united forces of these countries would be employed to crush the national-liberation movements in Albania and Greece. The Albanian people's revolutionary war, however, nipped this scheme in the bud.

The same fate was shared also by the attempts of the reactionaries to beguile the people through clamorous announcements of some measures of economic character, like «the agrarian reform» and the creation of a «society for the economic development of the country». These measures, promised the traitors, were to defend the peasants' and workers' rights and to do away with the economic backwardness of the country which was, according to them, the cause of the grave crisis in Albania. These beautiful promises, however, could not deceive the Albanian people. They were already convinced that it was only by achieving victory over fascism and by crushing the traitors that they would realize their dreams and aspirations.

It was at this time that the Anglo-American imperialist reaction came to the rescue of the Albanian collaborators. The British Government had not given up its plan of bringing the Balkans under its control. In the powerful growth of the national-liberation movement it perceived a great obstacle to the implementation of this plan in Albania. The General Council and the General Staff of the ANLA had not accepted the Anglo-American dictate. It was only by relying on the opponents of the national-liberation movement and by weakening it as much as possible that the Anglo-American imperialists could put their plan into operation. For this reason the allied Mediterranean Command increased its aid in arms and other means to the reactionary forces of the «Legality», the «Balli kombëtar» and the treacherous tribal chieftains. The British military mission tried to convince the ANLA General Staff not to move its forces toward Northern Albania, because that was the zone of action of the «Legality», and that would give rise to conflicts. In London, the British Government increased its attempts to set up an Albanian reactionary government in exile.

The Communist Party assessed the moments the country was passing through in the spring of the year 1944 as decisive for the fate of the people's revolution in Albania. It became imperative that all enemy attempts to turn the situation to their advantage should be frustrated, that all the tricks of the internal and foreign reaction should be beaten, that such military and political measures should be taken as to ensure the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution. In this connection, the Central Committee defined as the key link the strengthening and legalization of the power of the national-liberation councils as the sole legal power of the Albanian people, the setting up of the new Albanian State with its own democratic government and its own regular army.

The Përmet Congress. The Creation of the State of People's Democracy

With this aim in view, it was decided to call the 1st Anti-fascist National-liberation Congress which would take up for discussion and solve the political and military problems. The proposal of the Central Committee of the CPA for the convocation of the congress was discussed and adopted at the meeting of the Presidium of the National-liberation General Council in April 1944.

At the same time, and in line with the Central Committee directives, the General Staff began to draft the plan for changing the whole National-liberation Army into a regular army as well as the operative and strategical plan for ridding the entire Albanian territory of the German nazis and traitors.

These major political and military problems were taken up at the meeting of the Plenum of the CPA Central Committee which was held on May 15, 1944 in Helmës of Skrapar. The plenum approved the decisions of the Central Committee and of the General Council Presidium for convening the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. The steps for creating a Provisional Democratic Government and turning the National-liberation Army into a regular army were considered timely. The Central Committee made a correct assessment of the dangers threatening the National-liberation War, national independence and the people's revolution from the inimical activity of the British Government and of the British and American military missions in Albania. It reaffirmed its determination not to allow any of the allies, whoever it might be, to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of the Albanian people.

To deal with the situation, bearing in mind some incorrect viewpoints which had made their appearance from time to time, or which might emerge in the future in the Party, in the army, or in the National-liberation Front, the plenum drew attention to two important problems concerning the Party line. It warned against any alterations of the Party slogans, insisting that the national-liberation character of the war should be preserved to the end. The task was set of popularizing still more the Communist Party's role of leadership, but always within the line of the National-liberation War. The Central Committee argued that the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and democratic stage of the revolution had not and could not come to an end without assuring the complete liberation and the democratization of the country. On the other hand, it gave the instruction to combat the opinion that, with the termination of the National-liberation War, everything would be over and that once the Germans had been driven out, the National-liberation Army fighters should lay down their arms and return to their homes. The Plenum demanded that it should be made absolutely clear that the Albanian people would retain the arms in their hands after the liberation of the country as well, in order to ensure their full freedom, to destroy any enemy, to defend the victories achieved and to develop them further. It instructed the Party to study carefully the circumstances that would arise, to determine in time the necessary attitude and measures to be taken.

The Plenum condemned unanimously Ymer Dishnica's capitulation in Mukje and Gjin Marku's compromise with the Germans in Berat. For these grave faults it removed both of them from the Central Committee of the CPA.

The Party did a great deal of work in popularizing the decision on the convocation of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress both in the liberated and not yet liberated regions.

The people enthusiastically welcomed the decision to hold the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. At meetings and gatherings, they expressed their allegiance to and love for the Communist Party, thanked the Party for its correct leadership and heroic struggle in defense of the interests of the Fatherland, confirmed their readiness to fight to the end against the invaders and traitors, and supported the decision to convoke the congress and to establish a provisional democratic government.

On account of the war conditions, the election of delegates to the congress took place by open ballot. Nevertheless, they were the first democratic elections in Albania. Women, too, took part in these elections, for it was during the period of the National-liberation War that they were given, for the first time in the history of the country, the right to elect and be elected to the various organs of the people's power. It was the first time that the representatives of the people were chosen not on the basis of their lineage and property, but on the basis of their merits in the war against the enemies of the Fatherland and the people. The delegates to the congress were the representatives of the masses of the uprising people.

The elections to the congress demonstrated the political maturity and the high consciousness of the popular masses. They were another great test of the sound links of the Communist Party with the people.

The convocation of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress caused great concern amongst the enemy. The Hitlerites and the reactionaries exerted all their efforts to discover the place of the meeting so as to direct an armed assault against the congress. On their part, the Anglo-American imperialists exerted great pressure and left no means unemployed in order to sabotage it. The British Government described the holding of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress as «illegal» and ordered the chief of the British military mission in Albania not to accept the invitation which the National-liberation General Council had extended to him to take part in the congress in his capacity as a representative of the allies. Speaking in the House of Commons one day before the congress was opened, Attlee, Deputy Prime-Minister and later Prime-Minister of Great Britain, attributed the heroic war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party to the «Legality» and the «Balli kombëtar» organizations which were enemies to this war.

The Communist Party, following with attention and vigilance the evolution of the situation, succeeded in foiling all the enemy attempts, and the congress accomplished its tasks successfully, according to plan.

The 1st Anti-fascist National-liberation Congress of Albania was held from the 24th to 28th of May, 1944 in the liberated town of Përmet.

The work of the congress proceeded in a profoundly revolutionary spirit and complete unity. The report «On the Prosecution of the National-liberation War of the Albanian People in the Background of the International Events» submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the name of the National-liberation General Council was vigorously discussed by the delegates, who voiced their unanimous approval of all the proposals presented.

The congress elected the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council (ANLC) as the highest legislative and executive body in Albania, as the representative of the sovereignty of the people and of the Albanian State. The Anti-fascist Council elected in Përmet was the first people's convention of Albania. The congress charged the Anti-fascist Council with forming the Anti-fascist National-liberation Committee with the attributes of a provisional people's democratic government. The Anti-fascist Committee, which was approved at the congress, was the first people's democratic government of Albania. Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPA Enver Hoxha was elected Chairman of the Anti-fascist Committee.

Establishing the supreme organs of the people's power, the Përmet Congress decided: «the new people's democratic Albania is to be built according to the will solemnly expressed today by the people through the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council»; to prevent former King Zog from returning to Albania; not to recognize any other government which might be set up within or outside the country against the will of the Albanian people; to continue the war against the German invaders and Albanian traitors more fiercely until they are utterly destroyed and the state power of people's democracy has been established throughout the country.

At its first session the Anti-fascist Council took a series of decisions of major importance which were adopted by the congress and which constituted the first laws of the Albanian State of people's democracy. Of particular importance was the revolutionary decision to annul all the political and economic agreements the Zog government had concluded with foreign states as incompatible with the interests of the Albanian people. The Anti-fascist Council set up a special state commission for detecting and identifying war criminals and investigating all the crimes committed by the invaders and the traitors.

In close connection with the problems of setting up the people's state power at the highest levels, the congress also took up and settled problems concerning the further consolidation and perfection of the National-liberation Army as the main weapon for the complete liberation of the country and the defense of the new state power. It was at this congress that the unification of the high command of the National-liberation Army and the introduction of military rank were decided on. Comrade Enver Hoxha was appointed Commander-in-chief. The congress decided to set up divisions and army corps. The General Command announced the formation of the 1st Storm Division.

The Përmet Congress expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union and to the Red Army which, by their heroic war, had accelerated the liberation of Albania and of other countries enslaved by the fascists. It reaffirmed its allegiance to the Soviet-Anglo-American alliance and the friendship of the Albanian people with all the peoples of the world anti-fascist coalition. The congress expressed its determination to strengthen the militant relations with the member states and peoples of this coalition and to fulfil all the obligations deriving therefrom, at the same time making the best use possible of the help of the allies. Quite unlike former congresses and conventions in Albania, the Përmet Congress appealed to no one for aid in solving the problems and deciding the fate of Albania. On the contrary, it warned the imperialist powers that the time when Albania could be used as a medium of exchange was gone for ever, and that the Albanian people would not tolerate any bargain struck at their expense. They themselves would decide their fate. The Përmet Congress publicly denounced the attempts of the Anglo-American allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of Albania.

The historic decisions of the Përmet Congress were received with great joy and immediately embraced by the broad masses of the people.

The efforts of the Communist Party of Albania to demolish the old anti-people state power and to set up the people's democratic state power in the heat of the National-liberation War were crowned with success. The Peza Conference laid the foundations of the new state power. The Labinot Conference centralized it and proclaimed it the sole state power in Albania. The Përmet Congress solved the problem of the political power in favor of the revolutionary people. It founded the Albanian State of people's democracy. The decisions of the Përmet Congress comprise the basis of the Albanian State Constitution.

After this, the internal reactionaries were incapable of re-establishing the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, either by their own forces or with the aid of the Hitlerite invaders.

At the time of the Përmet Congress half of Albania was still under the control of the German nazi invaders and their collaborators. In the occupied regions and towns the national-liberation councils carried on their activity underground. In many regions there were no councils at all, but this was not the main thing. The main thing consisted in the fact that, following the Përmet Congress, in the liberated zones as well as in those not yet liberated, the Albanian people recognized as their own actual government only the Anti-fascist Committee, and obeyed its orders and the laws of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council. The Albanian National-liberation Army preserved the people's democratic state power from the blows of the enemy and was in a situation to secure, in the immediate future, the complete liberation of Albania and the establishment of this state power throughout the whole country.

The decisions of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress on the founding of the Albanian State of people's democracy, on the formation of the Anti-fascist Council and the Provisional Democratic Government were not simple decrees.

The new Albanian State and its supreme organs were the offspring of the revolutionary liberation war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The power of the national-liberation councils in Albania differed entirely from the old state power both as to its form and substance. It had nothing in common with any sort of state power in the bourgeois parliamentary republics. As a type of political power, it resembled the Paris Commune and the Soviets. Nevertheless, it preserved its full originality, in conformity with the objective conditions of Albania under the circumstances of the National-liberation War of the Albanian people.

In line with the decisions of the Përmet Congress the national-liberation councils and the Anti-fascist Committee were charged with the task of giving all-round help to the National-liberation Army for the complete liberation of the country; of ensuring the triumph of democracy throughout Albania, doing away with any possibility of the re-establishment of the Zog or of another reactionary regime; of wiping out any remnants of fascism and the old methods of government; of organizing the life of the people through an all-round transformation of the country, and development of the national economy and culture.

From their class composition and the tasks they were charged with, the national-liberation councils represented a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary forces under the direct and sole leadership of the Communist Party.

The solution of the problem of state power demonstrated that one of the strategic tasks of the Party had been accomplished. Nevertheless, this problem could not be considered as definitely solved so long as the other historic task was not yet carried through — the complete liberation of Albania from the German invaders.

The decisions of the Përmet Congress dealt a heavy blow at the invaders, at the internal reaction and at the Anglo-American imperialist reaction. They were of major importance for throwing off the imperialist yoke and for the social emancipation of the Albanian people.

9. THE COMPLETE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA. THE VICTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

On May 28, 1944, Commander-in-chief Enver Hoxha ordered the National-liberation Army to launch a general offensive for the complete liberation of Albania from the German invaders and the annihilation of the «Balli kombëtar», of the «Legality» and the other reactionary forces. On the basis of a strategic operative plan worked out in detail by the General Staff, the 1st Storm Division was to attack the enemy north of the Shkumbin river. This offensive was to be associated with a series of attacks by detachments and other units of the ANLA against garrisons and communication lines of the enemy throughout the country. In the offensive of the 1st Storm Division were to take part also new ANLA divisions which were to be set up as soon as possible as well as all the ANLA brigades.

The plan of the General Command for the complete liberation of the country was aimed at the same time at foiling the schemes of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command to stop the ANLA from passing over to the general offensive, thus averting the destruction of the reactionary forces. The plan of the General Command also envisaged the pursuit of the Hitlerite troops beyond the boundaries of Albania.

Failure of the Enemy's June Operation

Precisely on the day when the ANLA General Command issued its order for the general offensive the German troops mounted their second large-scale operation against the national-liberation forces.

For this offensive the enemy threw in four and a half German divisions and several thousands of gendarmes, «Balli kombëtar» and Zogites, altogether over 50,000 men.

The first phase of the enemy operation (May 28 — June 10) took place in the Korça-Elbasan-Berat-Përmet region. The Hitlerites and the reactionaries came up against the fierce resistance of the 1st Storm Division and of other units and detachments of the ANLA. After beating off successive attacks of the enemy, the partizans threw themselves into furious counter-attacks and often exterminated whole columns and detachments of Germans and traitors or compelled them to withdraw in disarray. In some directions the enemy columns could attain none of their objective and withdrew. The 1st Storm Division, cut off by German forces in Tomorica in the first stage of fighting, broke the siege and within the span of just a few days recaptured all its lost positions.

The second phase of the enemy operation (June 10-30) took place in the Vlora-Gjirokastra region, the 1st Operative Zone. After some days of hard fighting the partizan detachments operating in this zone found themselves in a critical situation. They were encircled by Hitlerite troops. However, thanks to the valor of the partizans and the bold leadership of their commandants and commissars, the partizan forces manoeuvred with dexterity and broke the enemy encirclement. By sudden assaults on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy forces, the partizans inflicted considerable losses and obliged them to withdraw.

The enemy's June operation, like that of the winter, ended in defeat for the German nazis and the reactionaries.

This operation proved once more the invincible strength of the National-liberation Army and of the Albanian people. From this operation the people's army emerged stronger and more mature, the people gained still greater confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party, and were deeply resolved to continue the war till final victory.

Under those circumstances it was essential to preserve the forces, the compactness and the combat capability of the National-liberation Army so as not to impede the operative strategic plan of the General Staff. The order for the offensive of the 1st Storm Division across the Shkumbin river remained in force. In the existing situation, the General Command considered the movement of the 1st Storm Division to Central Albania as a step that would secure the complete defeat of the Hitlerite operation. While the German troops were continuing their war activities south of the Vjosa river, it was considered to be the most propitious moment for the 1st Storm Division to begin carrying out the order it had received.

The General Offensive of the ANLA, the Annihilation of the Plans of Internal and External Reaction

On June 26, 1944, the 1st Storm Division crossed the Shkumbin river and started its offensive. The enemy was taken unawares, unable to face this sudden attack. The forces of the 1st Storm Division, backed up by partizan territorial units, penetrated deep into Central Albania and continued to push ahead non-stop toward Dibra. By the middle of July, all the regions designated in the order of the Commander-in-chief were liberated. The people of Central Albania and the Dibra district rendered powerful support to the 1st Storm Division, rising up in arms against slavery under the Germans and traitors. Thousands of young volunteers from the newly-liberated regions joined the brigades and divisions while the small partizan detachments which operated in the enemy-controlled regions in Central and Northern Albania rapidly grew into battalions and, a short time later, into brigades of the ANLA.

So unexpected for the invaders and traitors was the 1st Storm Division's offensive in the North that at the outset they thought they were dealing with the «remnants» of the partizan forces routed in the South which had crossed the Shkumbin river to find refuge. But they soon realized the truth. Alarmed to the extreme, they at once began withdrawing their troops from the South, transferring them to the North to crush the 1st Storm Division.

The enemy undertook two successive operations against the 1st Storm Division, one in July and the other in August 1944. Both of them failed entirely. The ANLA fighters smashed the Hitlerite and reactionary forces and finally liberated the whole Dibra district with the cities of Peshkopia and Dibra, and a part of Mirdita.

The successful prosecution of the offensive of the 1st Storm Division was not prevented by the pressure of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command which had many times demanded in a threatening manner that the ANLA cease fighting against the forces of the traitor Abaz Kupi. The General Command of the National-liberation Army rejected the demands and threats of the Anglo-American allies, and without any hesitation accomplished the task assigned by the Central Committee and the Përmet Congress.

In August, the 2nd Storm Division was set up, which together with the 1st Storm Division launched an immediate offensive against the invading German troops and the gangs of traitors in Northern Albania. Both divisions and all the partizan forces of the various district staffs in Central and Northern Albania, excepting the Peza Group, were included in the 1st Army Corps of the ANLA. The

Central Committee of the CPA assigned Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the CC of the CPA, to the duties of political commissar of the 1st Army Corps.

Meanwhile, in Southern Albania the other units of the National-liberation Army also had launched a general offensive.

The arrival in August of a Soviet military mission to Albania, in response to a request made by the Përmet Congress, was appreciated by the CPA as aid given by the Soviet Union to the liberation struggle of the Albanian people and as a recognition of their sovereignty. This testified also to the friendship and the revolutionary alliance between the Albanian and the Soviet peoples tempered in their common war against fascism.

The entire Albanian territory was like a volcano in eruption. The German garrisons, the reactionary bands and their communication lines were subjected to incessant attacks by the ANLA. Unable to counter the general offensive of the ANLA, the enemies evacuated the regions and the cities they had occupied, one after the other. By October 24, all the southern part of the country was entirely purged of Hitlerites. To the north of the Shkumbin, the German invaders continued to hold only the cities of Elbasan, Tirana, Durrës, Kukës and Shkodra.

At the request of the General Command of the Yugoslav National-liberation Army, two brigades of the Albanian National-liberation Army (the 3rd and 5th) had crossed the state borders on the 5th of October to take part in operations against the German nazis in Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau.

In addition to the liberation of the major part of the Fatherland and to the heavy losses inflicted on German troops, one of the most important events of the first months of the ANLA general offensive was the complete annihilation of the internal reaction. The «Balli kombëtar», the «Legality», their armed gangs and gendarme detachments, were wiped out under the blows of the ANLA storm brigades and divisions. The «Regency» and the Quisling government were completely paralysed.

A new attempt by British officers to form an Albanian puppet government with the participation of the chiefs of the reaction as a counterpoise to the revolutionary provisional government had no success.

The remnants of the reactionary forces, gathered around their chiefs under the protection of the German army, rested their only hope of salvation on a possible landing of the Anglo-American troops which would come to their rescue. But even this last hope of the traitors was not fulfilled.

In line with the orders issued by the Central Committee of the CPA, the General Command of the National-liberation Army resolutely rejected the reported demands of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command to send paratroops and special army units to Albania allegedly for the purpose of fighting together against the Germans. The ANLA was capable of liberating the entire country with its own forces and had no need of assistance from foreign troops. When British commandos landed in Saranda after the ANLA brigades had wiped out the German garrison there the General Command compelled the British General Staff to remove its forces without delay from the Albanian shores.

Thus the great danger which a landing of Anglo-American troops in Albania would have meant for the people's revolution was averted. The Central Committee, Secretary-General of the CPA and Commander-in-chief of the ANLA Enver Hoxha displayed maturity, wisdom and revolutionary courage in face of the strong and continuous pressure by the Anglo-American allies in not permitting them to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the

Albanian people. Such a consistent principled stand and the revolutionary spirit of the war demolished all the attempts made by the governments of Great Britain and the USA and their military missions in Albania to seize the leadership of the Albanian national-liberation movement, to destroy the National-liberation Front, and the Communist Party, and to occupy the country through landing their armed forces in Albania.

Foundations of People's Democracy Strengthened

The liberation of the major part of the country made it possible to expand and strengthen the people's power, to enliven to an unprecedented degree the activity of the national-liberation councils. The Anti-fascist Committee, along with its duties toward the armed struggle against the invaders, carried out extensive activity for the organization of the state and social order, for the reconstruction of the regions devastated in the war, for the upsurge of the economy, for the development of trade. In all the liberated regions and cities economic life was activated. Labor detachments and battalions set about the task of rebuilding blown up bridges and wrecked roads, burned down schools and houses. Schools and health service started functioning. The national-liberation councils placed under their administration all projects of special economic importance and all construction materials.

The Anti-fascist Committee took the decision to confiscate all movable and immovable personal property of the traitors. It issued instructions for the registration of lands and the preparation of statistics on arable lands and cattle, on their ownership and on the number of landless peasants. This was the first step toward the agrarian reform, which would be carried out immediately after the liberation of the country.

The masses of the people backed the activity of the Anti-fascist Committee and the national-liberation councils with all their forces. Loyal to the Anti-fascist Committee, they insisted that it should at once take its real title of the Democratic Government of Albania. This demand was dictated by the growth of the authority of the Anti-fascist Committee as the only government of the Albanian people and by the fact that the complete liberation of Albania was now very close.

This question was taken up at the Second Session of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council, which was held from October 20 to 23, 1944 in the liberated city of Berat.

The Anti-fascist National-liberation Council took the unanimous decision to change the Anti-fascist Committee into the **Democratic Government of Albania.** At this session, the Democratic Government adopted a program in which it pledged before the Albanian people that it would loyally carry out the decisions of the Përmet Congress. It undertook to carry on and further intensify the war for the speedy and complete liberation of Albania, to safeguard the independence of the Albanian State, to strengthen the authority of the national-liberation councils and to guarantee and defend the rights of citizens. The government would reconsider the political, military and economic agreements concluded by the ex-King Zog's regime with foreign states, and would annul all those that infringed upon the interests of the Albanian State and people. Its program also envisaged the establishment of close relations and collaboration with the Soviet Union and all the parties of the anti-fascist coalition. The government assumed the obligation of organizing, after the liberation of the country, democratic elections for the Constituent Assembly which would determine the definite form of the regime and draft the Constitution of the new Albanian State.

The Berat Session of the Anti-fascist Council approved the Law on the National-liberation Councils and the Law on the Election of National-liberation Councils. Until that time the national-liberation councils had been organs both of the government and of the National-liberation Front. Thenceforth they were to function only as organs of the people's democratic power. The National-liberation Front was to create its own organs.

Among the important decisions taken at the Berat Session of the Anti-fascist Council, was the approval of the «Declaration on the Rights of Citizens». All citizens were guaranteed equal rights before the law, freedom of meeting, of speech, of association, of press, freedom of religion and of conscience, equal rights for women and men, the right to elect and be elected for persons above 18 years of age, the right of appeal, etc. The «Declaration on the Rights of Citizens» represents a constitutional document of the new state of people's democracy.

The decisions of the Berat Session of the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council were the fulfilment and the further realization of the historic decisions of the Përmet Congress and a new political victory of the Albanian people over fascism and internal reaction. They were another blow at the attempts of the Anglo-American imperialists to establish their control in Albania.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the revolutionary war had torn out the very roots of the power of the Quisling government of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

By the time the Second Session of the Anti-fascist Council was held in Berat, the whole National-liberation Army had been changed into a regular army of the people and of the new Albanian State. By now it included in its

ranks 70,000 fighters organized in brigades, divisions and army corps. Of these 9 per cent were women, about 80 per cent young people and nearly 90 per cent peasants.

The National-liberation Army units were now carrying through their last operations against the German troops in Albania and in Kosova. Of these operations the most important was that for the liberation of Tirana. This was carried out according to the plan of the General Command. The plan envisaged coordinated combat actions for the 1st Storm Division and other units of the ANLA directly about Tirana and in the main directions of movement of the Hitlerite troops. The aim of the plan was to wipe out the enemy forces, to prevent them from plundering and destroying the city, and to liberate Tirana at all costs. The operation was to be led by the Command of the 1st Army Corps. The fighting in the capital city and its surroundings was directed by the Commander of the 1st Storm Division Mehmet Shehu.

The offensive of the National-liberation Army for the liberation of Tirana began on October 29, 1944 after all-round preparations had been made. It continued for 19 days. On November 17 the flag of victory was raised over the city. The operation for the liberation of Tirana demonstrated the high degree of organization, discipline and morale of the National-liberation Army. The people of the capital took an active part, side by side with the storm brigades, in the battle for the city's liberation.

Meanwhile, the forces of the Albanian National-liberation Army operating beyond the Albanian state boundaries in close collaboration with the brigades of Kosova Albanians by November 18 had cleared the major part of Kosova and the Dukagjin Plateau of Hitlerite troops and, after days of hard fighting, had succeeded in liberating the towns of Junik, Deçan, Gjakova, Prizren and Peja.

The Brutal Interference in the Internal Affairs of the CPA by the Leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia

The 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPA was held in Berat on November 23, on the eve of the complete liberation of the country. At this time the Party had grown to about 2,800 members. The holding of the plenum was indispensable in order to sum up the work and victories of the Party and of the people in the National-liberation War, and to define the tasks for the new stage of the revolution which would begin with the liberation of Albania.

The proceedings of the plenum, however, were completely distorted through the brutal interference of the leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Albania.

Militant fraternal relations were created during the Second World War between the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia in their heroic struggle against the common enemy, the fascist invaders. Close links were established between the Communist Party of Albania and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

At the request of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia, a number of cadres of the CPA were sent to organize the Party and the struggle against the fascist invaders in Kosova and in the Dukagjin Plateau. In the towns of Dibra, Gostivar, Tetova, Kërçova and their surroundings, the CPA organization of the Dibra district rendered substantial assistance in organizing the liberation war.

In order to maintain the connections between the two parties, Miladin Popovich, a Yugoslav internationalist communist whom the Albanian communists had released from a fascist concentration camp in Peqin in the autumn of 1941, remained in Albania. In the relations between the CP of Albania and the CP of Yugoslavia he always upheld the internationalist stand of the CC of the CPA.[1]

The leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia tried to exploit the close ties between the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia in order to dictate its will to the CP of Albania and to carry out its chauvinist aims with regard to Albania.

In summer 1943, Vukmanovich-Tempo, one of the principal leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia who had come to Albania with the special mission to create the «Balkan Staff»,[2] in an absolutely impermissible and unjust manner accused the Central Committee of the CP of Albania of an opportunist attitude toward the «Balli kombëtar». This gross, malicious defamation was made for the purpose of creating the opinion that allegedly the Central Committee of the CPA was incapable of independent leadership, that it could not avoid serious mistakes without directives from the «experienced leadership» of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

This diabolical accusation was rejected by the CC of the CPA as absolutely unfounded. Nevertheless, this first attempt of the Yugoslav leaders to subdue the CPA did not pass by without leaving certain traces. Koçi Xoxe, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Sejfulla Malëshova, Candidate Member of the Central Committee, supported Tempo's distorted version and were ready to submit to the line imposed by the chauvinist Yugoslav leaders. From that day onward Koçi Xoxe began, in fact, to serve the Yugoslav leadership as its agent within the Communist Party of Albania.

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[1] Miladin Popovich was withdrawn from Albania in September 1944 by order of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia. He was assassinated in March 1945 by the Yugoslav secret service.

[2] The creation of the «Balkan Staff» was undertaken on the initiative of Tito alone. Through this organ the Yugoslav leaders aimed at bringing the liberation armed forces of Greece, Albania and Bulgaria under their own command. The attempts to set up the «Balkan Staff» did not meet with success on account of the opposition it aroused in the communist parties and in the revolutionary peoples of the Balkans.

Vukmanovich-Tempo openly manifested his chauvinist views in the autumn of the year 1943. Imbued with these concepts, he considered the truly internationalist activity of the CPA organization of the Dibra district in the towns and regions beyond the Albanian state borders inhabited by Albanians and Macedonians, and the great authority this organization and the ANLA Staff of the Dibra district enjoyed among the people of those regions as a danger to the Yugoslav aims. Furious at this situation, Vukmanovich-Tempo sent from Macedonia two successive letters to the CC of the CPA. He accused the Albanian communists and partizans, the commandant of the ANLA district staff Haxhi Lleshi and the CC of the CPA itself of «unbounded chauvinism» and of «Great Albania» aspirations. He demanded in a most brutal way that all the Albanian partizans resident in Yugoslav territory should be withdrawn from the battalions of the ANLA of the Dibra district and be placed under the command of the Yugoslav Army; that Haxhi Lleshi should leave the city of Dibra and come there only when the Yugoslav staff called on him for assistance; that the National-liberation Council of Dibra should sever its connections with the Albanian staff and should place itself under the authority of the Yugoslav staff. «Otherwise,» threatened Tempo, «there will be clashes in which the communists, too, will take part» (!).

The Central Committee, deeply incensed by such impermissible interference, rejected Tempo's calumnies and accusations and expressed its great amazement at the harsh and not in the least communist tone of his letters and monstrous fabrications. At the same time it warned Tempo that it did not in any way tolerate outside persons giving orders to Albanian partizan detachments or dictating to the Communist Party of Albania.

Pronounced chauvinist manifestations cropped up among Yugoslav military and party leaders in Kosova and in the Dukagjin Plateau. They did not take into account the wishes of the Albanian population and in various ways combatted the idea, so widely spread during the war, of the self-determination of peoples, and often carried out acts of discrimination and extermination against the Albanians in Kosova, in the Dukagjin Plateau and in Montenegro, just as the «cetniks» of Mihailovich had done. The Central Committee of the CPA and the Party organizations of the Shkodra and Tropoja districts had several times drawn attention to, and criticized the chauvinistic actions of different Yugoslav leaders as attitudes which greatly hindered the prosecution of the war against the Italian and German invaders in Kosova.

On its part, the CP of Albania maintained a consistent internationalist stand and did not allow itself any chauvinistic manifestation, no matter how unimportant. It assisted with all its forces the prosecution of the anti-fascist war in Kosova and in the Dukagjin Plateau; it fought for the fraternization, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, of the Albanian people with the peoples of Yugoslavia. As to the problem of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians, the CPA had never accepted the fascist slogan of «Great Albania». It saw the correct solution of this problem in the victory of the people's revolution in both Albania and Yugoslavia. The CPA had declared publicly that, through the victory of the revolution in both of the countries, the Kosova people would win the right to decide their own fate. On the other hand it would fight against Yugoslavia, if it tried to oppress and enslave the Albanian population in Yugoslav territory.

At that time the CP of Albania did not as yet suspect the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia of chauvinistic intentions, because it could not conceive that the leadership of a party which called itself Marxist-Leninist could have such intentions as are held only by social-chauvinistic parties, by imperialists and their stooges. It thought that the chauvinistic manifestations of Tempo and some leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia and of Yugoslav partizan detachments in Serbia and Macedonia during the war were only distortions by isolated persons, and not actions expressing the policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

In 1944, the CP of Yugoslavia increased its pressure on the CP of Albania. It tried in diverse ways to create among the Albanian people the opinion that everything, even the founding of the CP of Albania and the National-liberation War, were due to the «aid» of the CP of Yugoslavia, to Tito, and that new Albania ought to see its future as linked with the fate of Yugoslavia and only Yugoslavia!

This anti-Marxist policy of the Yugoslav leadership aroused the just opposition of the CP of Albania.

To the Yugoslav leadership the main obstacle to carrying out its aims in Albania was the Marxist-Leninist line of the CP of Albania, of its Secretary-General Enver Hoxha and of the other members of the CC of the CP of Albania who resolutely defended this line and did not admit foreign interference in the internal affairs of their Party and country.

The CC of the CP of Yugoslavia attempted to overcome this obstacle at the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in November 1944.

Pursuing its objectives, the Yugoslav leadership sent Velimir Stoinich to Albania as chief of the Yugoslav military mission and liaison officer between the CP of Yugoslavia and the CP of Albania. As soon as he arrived in Albania, Velimir Stoinich began the attack on the general line of the CP of Albania, rejecting its political line as absolutely wrong and demanding that radical changes should be made without delay both in the line and the leadership of the CP of Albania. This slanderous accusation and interference in the internal affairs of the CP of Albania were opposed by CC Secretary-General Comrade Enver Hoxha, but, on the other hand, they were supported by Members of the Political Bureau Koçi Xoxe and Nako Spiru.

The perfidious attack of the Yugoslav leadership found strong support in the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Albania, especially after Sejfulla Malëshova and Pandi Kristo were co-opted as members in open transgression of the organizational rules, thus assuring a pro-Yugoslav majority in the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP of Albania.

Behind the Central Committee's back and without consulting its Secretary-General, Velimir Stoinich together with these ambitious careerists worked out the platform which was to be submitted to the plenum in opposition to the tested Marxist-Leninist line of the CP of Albania.

The banner of the attack against the Party at the plenum of the Central Committee was carried by Sejfulla Malëshova and the Yugoslav representative[1] and fully supported by Koçi Xoxe and the other accomplices in this secret plot.

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[1] Velimir Stoinich was invited to take part in the plenum as a representative of a sister party. With the assistance of the conspirators in the ranks of the CC of the CPA, he interfered brutally in the internal affairs of the Party, violating all the norms of relations between communist parties.

The CPA, which had fought with such heroism and scored decisive victories in the revolutionary war, was described by the plotters as «not a true communist party», as having a «non-Marxist-Leninist line and leadership». Its glorious road tested in the heat of battle which had led to the liberation of the Fatherland and to the establishment of the people's power, was denigrated as «a road full of mistakes and distortions» which vacillated continuously «from sectarianism to opportunism and vice versa». Enver Hoxha, the founder and teacher of the Party, the leader and hero of the National-liberation War, was presented by the renegades as «the synthesis of all errors». Sejfulla Malëshova raised the need for a «chairman of the Party», a post that should be occupied by a man «with profound theoretical preparation»(!), having himself in mind.

Velimir Stoinich described the work of Miladin Popovich in Albania as erroneous activity which could not be sanctioned by the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia. He presented a «new line» which was «recommended» to the CPA.

Labelling as sectarian the work which was being done for the popularization of the CPA as the leader of the Albanian people, he raised the question that in the future not the Party as such, but the National-liberation Front should be popularized. He demanded that leading and influential representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the high clergy, regardless of their inimical stand during the National-liberation War, should be drawn into the leading organs of the National-liberation Front. Recommendations of this kind on the part of the Yugoslav leadership were in concord with the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists who were exerting pressure on the

Democratic Government of Albania to have it admit representatives of the reaction into its ranks and into the Anti-fascist Council, with a view to making use of them later to overthrow the people's power.

The Yugoslav delegate completely blackened the activity of the national-liberation councils, of the National-liberation Army, of the political commissars, and demanded that the National-liberation Army should have «a strong political head» and «a strong military command». He concentrated especially on Yugoslav-Albanian relations on the basis of the «Balkan» fraternization». «Albania,» declared Velimir Stoinich, «cannot build its economy and develop independently, it is just a morsel for imperialism», therefore «there is no way left to Albania but to join with Yugoslavia in a confederation, or even further than that». To attain this end, he said it was essential that the Albanian people should be prepared for Albania's fusion with Yugoslavia and that Tito be popularized as a «symbol of the liberation of the peoples of the Balkans and of Europe».[1]

With the plotters attacking the general Party line, the urgent problem with which the CPA was confronted in the further development of revolution after the liberation of the country was completed went almost entirely undiscussed at this plenum. The Yugoslav delegate and Sejfulla Malëshova even declared that for a long time yet Albania «would not carry out the socialist revolution and would not go over to socialism».

Knowing nothing of the plot organized behind the scenes and of the diabolic intentions of the Yugoslav leadership, a number of members and candidate members of the Central Committee wavered and, to a certain extent, accepted the theses of the Yugoslav emissary and the anti-Party group.

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[1] Minutes of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA, November 1944. Central Archives of the Party.

In this way, the meeting of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA was subverted by the interference of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia. The directions given and the decisions taken at this plenum were harmful to the interests of the Party and the Albanian people.

The only correct decision the plenum took was to expel Liri Gega from the ranks of the Central Committee for sectarianism and pronounced adventurism. The plotters, however, without any foundation whatsoever, but for a set purpose, attributed all that to the Party line, and designated sectarianism as the principal danger threatening the CPA! In the plenum it was decided that the Central Committee be enlarged by adding 7 new members and 11 new candidate members.

The Berat Plenum dealt a heavy blow to the unity of the Party leadership. The way was now open for introducing the revisionist and anti-Leninist organizational norms and methods of the Yugoslav leadership into the CPA. A favorable terrain was created for large-scale interference by the Yugoslav revisionists in the internal affairs of the CPA and of the country.

The plot of the Titoites in Berat did not meet with complete success on account of the resolute stand taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha and other members of the Central Committee who defended the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The Yugoslav leadership could not achieve its main objective of deposing the Secretary-General, because the majority of the CC members rejected the demand of the plotters to have him removed from his office, and recognized the great merits of Comrade Enver Hoxha in founding the CPA and guiding it through the National-liberation War. Nevertheless, this plot was the first attempt to undermine the foundations of the Albanian Marxist-Leninist Party and a serious threat to the independence of Albania and to its people's revolution.

While the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPA was meeting in Berat, the National-liberation Army was bringing to an end its operations to clear Albanian soil of the nazi invaders. Hotly pursuing the enemy and destroying his forces, on the 29th of November the ANLA liberated Shkodra, the last city and the whole of Albania.

The power of people's democracy was now established throughout the country. **November 29, 1944 marks the complete liberation of the Fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution.**

Immediately after the liberation of Albania, by decision of the CC of the CPA and by order of the ANLA Commander-in-chief Enver Hoxha, two divisions of the ANLA (the 5th and 6th) continued the pursuit of the Hitlerite troops into Yugoslav territory; the Albanian and Yugoslav soldiers, fighting side by side against the nazi hordes, in December 1944 and in January-February 1945 liberated Montenegro, Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia. With their profoundly internationalist stand, their high communist spirit and their unparalleled heroism, the Albanian partizans won the respect and admiration not only of the Albanian, but also of the Macedonian, Montenegrin and Sandjak populations of Yugoslavia as well. In the battles for the liberation of the people of Yugoslavia, hundreds of the ANLA fighters laid down their lives.

10. THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION WAR AND THE CAUSES OF ITS VICTORY

The National-liberation War against Italian and German invaders, which continued for more than five years and a half, is the bloodiest and most heroic war the Albanians have waged throughout their history.

The one million Albanian people tied down more than 15 Italian and German divisions and put out of action some 70,000 enemies killed, wounded or captured. As one of the most active participants of the anti-fascist world coalition, relative the size of its territory and its population, Albania gave a most valuable contribution to the historic victory over fascism. It bore a very heavy burden on its shoulders. During the Second World War on the 28,000 sq. kilometres of Albanian territory there trod about 700,000 fascist soldiers who caused incredible damage and great devastation. Albania was one of the countries that suffered most heavy losses in human life and, particularly, in material and cultural values during the Second World War.

But the heroic efforts made, the blood shed and the huge losses suffered by the Albanian people were crowned with absolute victory over their external and internal enemies.

On November 29, 1944, with the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, fascist domination in Albania came to an end. At the same time, all dependence on the imperialist great powers was done away with, and all enslaving links and relations with these powers were severed; the Albanian people achieved their full national independence; likewise, the rule of landlords and the bourgeoisie was overthrown. Albania broke away for ever from the world capitalist system.

This was the greatest victory ever achieved by the Albanians throughout their entire history.

The National-liberation War remained to the very last an anti-fascist and democratic revolution. However, within its framework, elements of socialist revolution also evolved as well, such as depriving the bourgeoisie of political power, the establishment of the leadership of the Communist Party as the sole leadership in the new Albanian State, and so on. This took place as a consequence of the continual intensification of the war against the principal exploiting classes of the country and of its being interwoven with the war against the invaders. This factor still further deepened the revolutionary character of the National-liberation War.

The Communist Party of Albania did not call for the intensification of the class struggle within the country, nor did it launch slogans calling on the people to rise against the landlords, tribal chieftains, and the bourgeoisie; to the end, it directed its main efforts against the fascist invaders. The class struggle was intensified by the open treachery of the exploiting classes.

The political organizations which represented these classes such as the «Balli kombëtar», the «Legality», etc. were crushed by the National-liberation Army only because they placed themselves at the service of the fascist invaders. By their undisguised anti-national and anti-people's stand, the former ruling classes lost all possible claim to participate in the political power.

The new political power, which was established in Albania even before the National-liberation War had ended, was entirely in the hands of the democratic revolutionary forces with the Communist Party as their sole leader. This power did not consist simply of a democratic dictatorship of revolutionary forces, but it was a power which contained within itself rapidly evolving elements of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the historic victory in the National-liberation War the revolution was carried out only in the political field. The economic and social problems of the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution remained to be solved after the war.

The main social forces in the National-liberation War were the working class and the poor and middle peasantry. The petty and middle bourgeoisie of cities also took part in the war.

The working class played the leading role in the National-liberation War. This role it carried out through the Communist Party of Albania.

The Albanian working class was small in numbers, dispersed, not yet formed as an industrial proletariat, but it was the most progressive class, which had the future before it. Above all, no other class in the country succeeded in forming a party with a sound organization, with a correct policy built on scientific foundations, as the working class had done in creating its own Party.

Both in the leading organs of the National-liberation War and in the composition of the Party, the number of workers was small. This did not, however, prevent the working class from fulfilling its leading role in this war. Although a good number of its members came from the petty bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of Albania educated them, especially those coming from the ranks of the peasantry, in a profound proletarian revolutionary spirit, imbuing them with a rare determination to defend the interests of the proletariat, of socialism. In the concrete circumstances, these interests were fused and became one with the interests of the National-liberation War, with the interests of the entire people and of the enslaved Albanian nation.

The peasantry became the source and the main armed force of the National-liberation War, the soundest support of the working class and of the Communist Party of Albania.

The Albanian peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. It is true that it was backward from the economic and cultural standpoint, but it preserved in its bosom great revolutionary capacities developed through its unremitting struggle for freedom and for land, against the oppression and exploitation of landlords and usurers, against the former anti-people regimes and, particularly, against foreign invaders. The peasantry, more than any other class or social stratum in Albania, was endowed with sound patriotic fighting traditions. Taking this into account, the Communist Party appreciated correctly the decisive role of the peasantry at war. «Under the conditions of our country, the war would be won,» Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «by that class which had the peasantry with it».[1]

The peasantry accepted the program and the leadership of the CPA, after having been convinced by its own experience that it was the only political organization standing for resolute war against the invaders, matching words with deeds, capable of ensuring victory over the fascist invaders and traitors, and of fulfilling the dreams of the peasants for freedom and land. Under the leadership of the Party, the peasantry displayed great patriotism and heroism.

All through the period of the National-liberation War the Communist Party upheld the slogan of the mobilization of all the peasants without class discrimination. However, the well-to-do peasants, the village gentry as a class, did not accept the program and the leadership of the CPA. In general, they aligned themselves with the traitor organizations of the bourgeoisie and of landlords, with the «Balli kombëtar» and the «Legality», and became their support in the villages, hoping thus to be able to preserve their privileges after the war.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Solemn Meeting on the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Country, Tirana, 1959, p. 9.

The petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie in the cities took part in the National-liberation War without the intermediary of a political party of their own, just like the peasantry. They did not and could not create a real political party, because they were too heterogeneous, economically powerless and, in particular, because they lacked determination, maturity and experience in the political struggle. For this reason, they were unable to play any leading role in the National-liberation War. They accepted the program of the Communist Party, because they perceived that this program embodied their immediate political demands.

The petty bourgeoisie, which constituted the vast majority of the urban population, though in appearance neither too resolute nor prepared for sacrifices, almost entirely joined in the National-liberation War and displayed remarkable patriotism. Many of them linked themselves closely with the Communist Party.

The middle bourgeoisie displayed great vacillation. Among them there were tendencies for compromise with the invaders. However, finding themselves under the grip of occupation laws, under the pressure of foreign capital and under the influence of the traditional patriotism of the Albanian people, most of them opposed the occupation regime and took part in the anti-fascist war, but did not display any great activity. Only a few of them sided with the invaders, by joining the ranks of the «Balli kombëtar» and the «Legality» organizations.

In general, **the Albanian intellectuals,** the majority of whom came from the upper and the middle strata of the population, proved to be patriotic and opposed to fascism. The more progressive-minded ones were distinguished for their love of country, for their resoluteness and profound revolutionary spirit. They embraced the line of the Communist Party and strove to carry it out. Only a small

number of intellectuals, influenced by fascist bourgeois ideology, aligned themselves with the invaders. They served as the ideologists of the «Balli kombëtar» and of the «Legality» organizations.

The most active force of the National-liberation War was the youth. They stood in the forefront of the war against the invaders and traitors in the towns, the villages and in the National-liberation Army.

The vast majority of these young men and young women stood out for their lofty sentiments of patriotism and, at the same time, for their profoundly revolutionary progressive spirit. They aligned themselves closely with the Communist Party and became ardent fighters for the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The first to join the liberation struggle were the youth of the city, working and school youth.

The school youth came mainly from the ranks of the middle petty bourgeoisie of the towns. Side by side with the working youth and acting in the ranks of the Communist Youth Organization, they made an important contribution to the propagation of the line of the CPA among the masses. At the same time, they acted as intermediaries in exerting the influence of the Party on the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the cities.

But the bulk of the anti-fascist youth came from the peasantry. Next after the city youth they dashed into the war with rare courage and revolutionary determination. The young peasants made up the majority in the National-liberation Army.

The women played a major role in the anti-fascist war. They took part in this war on a scale unprecedented in the former liberation wars. The Albanian women embraced the line of the Communist Party and fought vigorously side by side with their menfolk for its application, because in this line they found not only the sure road to the national and social liberation of the people, but also the road to winning equal rights with men, to winning emancipation from all the fetters of the past that held them under bondage.

The great victory of the National-liberation War was achieved, first and foremost, through the self-sacrifice and lofty heroism displayed by the Albanian people at war. Never before had they been so united, so resolute and so sure of victory as in the war against the Italian and German invaders and the traitors. Never before had they been so deeply conscious of the objectives of the war nor so willing to make sacrifices and undergo privations for the sake of victory.

It was during the National-liberation War that the creative capacity of the masses of the people, regarding the political and military life of the country, revealed itself with all its force. Their inexhaustible strength and great capability were demonstrated in the fire of fierce battles. From the flesh and blood of the people, from the ranks of the ordinary folk, workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, emerged the fighters and wonderful leaders of the masses, commandants and commissars, members of councils and ministers. These men and women of the people, often deficient in formal schooling, excelled in ability and valor and defeated the highly sophisticated generals and officers of the enemy, and the professional politicians of the former landlord-bourgeois regime.

> «Our liberation war,» wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha on the eve of liberation, «placed the people at the head, and herein lies the reason for the victory».[1]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, «The Historic Decisions of the Second Session of the ANLC», November 1944. Works, Vol. II, p. 373.

By the heroic war they waged, the Albanian people liberated the Fatherland and brought about their own emancipation.

A very important role for the achievement of victory was played by the brilliant patriotic and fighting traditions, the rich experience which the Albanian people had acquired through the centuries in their struggle for freedom and independence, which were further developed and reinforced in the National-liberation War.

The CPA was the inspirer, organizer and leader of the National-liberation War, the architect of victory.

In the former liberation wars the Albanian people had not succeeded in creating a monolithic, consistent leadership. This was the primary reason why they had been unable to achieve their freedom and complete independence in the past, and why the fruits of their efforts had been plundered by the imperialists, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie of the country. From their own struggle, however, from the ordeals and misery, they had learned the great lesson that without a revolutionary leadership, their blood and strivings could not be crowned with final victory. They turned this dream into reality by founding the CPA, which they brought into being, reared and tempered in war. Emerging from the bosom of the Albanian people, this Marxist-Leninist Party inherited from them magnificent patriotic traditions, a rich experience in war. It succeeded in accumulating and further evolving these traditions and this experience, giving them a deeply revolutionary content and turning them into reality to secure the freedom and national independence of the people to bring about the victory of the revolution.

The Communist Party worked out a correct policy based on the objective internal and external conditions and on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, a policy which directly responded to the pressing political demands, to the deeply rooted interests of the people, of the Fatherland and of socialism, and carried it out with consistency, resoluteness and revolutionary daring.

It was the Party that implanted among the masses such a high consciousness of the objectives of the war and of the correctness of its policy. It was the Party which discovered, developed and employed in the war against fascism all the energies and capabilities of the masses of the people.

The masses were convinced out of their own experience that the Communist Party was the real champion of their interests and of the interests of the Albanian nation, the loyal and consistent fighter for national independence, liberty, democracy, and the land.

With rare mastery the Communist Party solved three tasks which were the key to victory: the union of the broad masses in the National-liberation Front; the organization of the general uprising; the arming of the people, the creation of the standing ANLA; the destruction of the rule of the invaders and of landlords and the bourgeoisie, the organization and establishment of the power of people's democracy.

The Party secured many powerful foreign allies for the Albanian people and educated them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of fraternal friendship with all the people who fought against fascism. Toward the foreign allies it pursued a correct policy built on revolutionary principles. It taught the people to differentiate between them and to link the Albanian National-liberation War, first and foremost, with the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. At no time did the Party allow any of the allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of our country. It frustrated the plan of the Anglo-American imperialist reactionaries who attempted to obstruct the victory of the revolution and to establish their

own control on Albania. While maintaining an upright attitude toward all allies and making a correct assessment of the assistance and support from abroad, the Party never expected others to bring freedom to the Albanian people. It resolutely carried into effect the principle of the primacy of self-reliance and taught the people to realize clearly that liberty is not granted but is won by bloodshed, with many hardships and sacrifices.

The CPA was born, grew up and proved itself as a leader with capability and unrivalled authority in the revolutionary war against the invaders and traitors. It did not wait to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory before throwing itself into the struggle. It learned this theory and applied it faithfully and in a creative manner in the heat of battle, in complicated situations.

The decisive external factor of the historic victory of the Albanian people was the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and its great victory over fascism. The Red Army did not come to Albania, but the Albanian people consider the Soviet Union as the liberator of Albania as well. Under the leadership of J.V. Stalin, the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the Second World War and played the principal role in the destruction of fascism. The great victories of the Red Army over Hitlerite Germany created suitable conditions for the Albanian people to rise up as one man and, through their own heroic war, to assure full national independence and establish the people's power.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA IN ITS STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE COUNTRY AND PROMOTE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

(December 1944-1948)

1. THE DEFENSE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC POWER

The people's state power established in Albania and the sole leadership of the Communist Party in the state created the necessary political conditions to carry the people's anti-imperialist democratic revolution in the economic, social and cultural fields through to the end. This made it possible for the revolution to develop uninterruptedly and pass over immediately to the socialist revolution, to carrying out economic and social changes of a socialist character.

It was only by proceeding along this road that the victories achieved in the National-liberation War could be safeguarded, that the destruction left from the war and the backwardness inherited from the past could be eliminated, the workers could be freed once and for all from exploitation and misery, and conditions created for the rapid development of our economy and culture.

The tasks confronting the Party for the further development of the people's revolution were determined by the internal and external situation following the Second World War.

The Radical Change of the Ratio of Forces in the World in Favor of Socialism

When Albania drove out the foreign invaders, the Second World War was still going on. It came to an end only after the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany on May 9, 1945 and of militarist Japan on September 2, 1945.

Great changes had taken place in the world. Although the Soviet Union had suffered greater human and material losses than any other country, it emerged from the war much stronger politically and militarily. Its authority and international prestige were greatly enhanced.

The capitalist system was shaken to its foundations and weakened. The second stage of the general crisis of capitalism, which had begun with the outbreak of the Second World War, assumed still larger proportions. The principal manifestation of this crisis was the victory of a series of revolutions which opened new breaches in the imperialist front in Europe and in Asia.

As a result of these revolutions, new people's democratic regimes were established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The newly set up democratic governments carried out a series of political, economic and social changes which laid the foundations for embarking on the path of socialist development. The people's revolution in China was given a fresh impulse.

The detachment of these countries from the capitalist system was one very important result of the Second World War. This made a radical change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and constituted the fundamental feature which defined the new international situation following the war.

The liberating character of the anti-fascist people's war, the decisive role of the Soviet Union in it, and the detachment of a series of countries from the capitalist system gave a strong impulse to the national-liberation and anti-colonial movement. The domination of the imperialist powers over the colonies and dependent countries began to crumble. The process of disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism became widespread. A series of new independent states came into being in Asia and in Africa.

Even in the remaining colonies or dependent countries the liberation movement to shake off the imperialist yoke was on the rise.

The process of disintegration of the colonial system was another important manifestation of the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Consequently, the importance of the national-liberation movement of the colonial and oppressed peoples, as a direct reserve of the world socialist revolution, was greatly increased.

The new alignment of the social and political forces in the world opened a new stage to the revolutionary movement, creating more favorable conditions for the triumph of socialism on a world-wide scale.

With the end of the war the ratio of forces between the principal capitalist countries also changed. The inequality of their economic and political development was deepened still more, upsetting the balance of power within the world system of capitalism.

After the war, Germany, Japan and Italy were temporarily excluded from the world market. Their economies were heavily damaged and disorganized. France could no

longer play its former role of a great imperialist power. Under the blows dealt by the liberation war of the colonial peoples, the British Empire began to break up and the power of British imperialism declined.

Only the United States of America emerged stronger from the war. It had greatly enhanced its economic and military might and became the principal centre of the capitalist world.

The imperialist powers could not reconcile themselves to the growth of socialist and democratic forces in the world and the development of the anti-colonial liberation movement. A bitter struggle ensued between the imperialist and reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the socialist and democratic forces, on the other.

Thus, the contradictions in the anti-fascist coalition about the aims and the character of the war became clearer when hostilities ended, and grew deeper as time passed. The antagonism between the two world social systems was becoming more and more acute. The world was split up into two camps: the anti-imperialist democratic camp and the anti-democratic imperialist camp, with aims and objectives diametrically opposed.

The democratic camp was made up of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. At its head stood the Soviet Union. It was supported by the entire international democratic and workers' movement, by all progressive-minded persons fighting in defense of democracy, freedom and the independence of peoples. The aim of this camp was to secure world peace, the independence of the peoples, democracy and progress toward socialism. This could be attained only in struggle against imperialism.

The imperialist camp had the USA as its leading force. It relied on the reactionary classes and on all the anti-democratic forces in the capitalist countries. The aim of this camp was to save the old capitalist order, to suppress the workers' revolutionary and national-liberation movements, to re-establish the capitalist regime in the countries of people's democracy. By making use of their great economic and military potential, the U.S. imperialists sought to establish their domination over the world. To achieve this aim, the imperialists headed by the USA launched a frenzied hostile campaign against the Soviet Union and against all the socialist, freedom- and peace-loving forces. International reaction resorted to direct armed intervention and drowned the people's democratic movement in Greece in blood. It dealt heavy blows at the democratic workers' movement in France, Italy, and elsewhere. A tendency to fascistize political life became apparent in the imperialist states.

In order to carry out its strategic plan, the imperialist camp, and especially the United States of America, began to pursue an openly aggressive policy, to intensify the militarization of their economy and, thus, prepare for the next world war. This policy and the measures deriving from it covered all the main fields of life, including the economic and military fields and the ideological struggle. The «Truman Doctrine» and the «Marshall Plan» were specific expressions of this policy.

The U.S. imperialists stationed a large number of troops and set up military bases in many foreign countries with a view to using them in the aggressive war they were preparing against the USSR and the countries of people's democracy, as well as to suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples. They made use of their temporary monopoly of atomic weapons as a means of intimidating the peoples.

The aggressive policy of the USA for world domination was associated with a bitter attack in the ideological field.

Anti-communism was the pivot of this campaign. Alleging that the Soviet Union and communism presented a threat to the so-called free world, the imperialist propaganda endeavored to fence off and extinguish the socialist ideas which had spread and were spreading far and wide among the working masses of the world.

Difficulties in the Administration of the Country

With the ousting of the invaders and the establishment of the people's power, the Communist Party of Albania was charged with the burden of running the country. This task was no less difficult than that of conducting the liberation war, but our Party was firmly convinced that it would accomplish it successfully. This conviction was based on the experience it had acquired during the war for national liberation, on its determination to carry the revolution through to the end, on the firm support the masses of the people gave to its political line, and on the great revolutionary enthusiasm which had spread throughout the country.

But it had to surmount many difficulties along this course.

Liberation found our country in a lamentable condition. Albania had suffered colossal damage in the war. Its economy was shattered to its very foundations. All the bridges, big and small, had been blown up. Highways, ports and telephone networks were in ruins. Electric power was lacking, mines had fallen into disuse. Even the few factories which had escaped destruction could not work for lack of raw materials. Unemployment was widespread throughout the country.

Agriculture, too, was in a grave situation: part of the land had remained untilled; 1/3 of the cattle, especially draught animals, had been slaughtered.

Trade was at a standstill on account of shortages of goods and lack of means of communication. No funds were available. The gold reserves in the bank had been plundered by the invaders. Inflation had unheard-of proportions. The people were facing winter without clothes, shoes, shelter, or food. Famine and disease threatened from all quarters.

The situation was further aggravated by the struggle the internal and foreign reaction waged against the people's power. After liberation, a close counter-revolutionary alliance was formed between the overthrown classes and the foreign imperialist bourgeoisie.

The U.S. and British missions, which remained in Albania even after the liberation on the pretext of preparing for the recognition of the new government, became centres of espionage, plots and sabotage. They tried to unite all the forces of reaction and to launch them into struggle to overthrow the people's power. The overthrown classes concentrated mainly on hatching plots and preparing armed uprisings. Their main armed support came from the bands of fugitive war criminals throughout the country, especially in the northern regions. They aimed at creating insecurity, at intimidating the peasantry and at obstructing the establishment of law and order. They committed terrorist attacks against communists and propagandists of the people's power. In January 1945, remnants of the reactionary forces mounted an assault on Koplik, but they were routed within a few hours. During the months of January-February the reactionary bands which had sought refuge in the Kelmendi highlands were completely wiped out.

Representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the landlords set up secret groups, such as the «monarchist», «social-democrat», «demo-Christian» and other groups, which were directed by the British and U.S. missions in Tirana. The overthrown classes tried to wreck and sabotage our economy. They were also assisted by elements who had wormed their way into the ranks of the Democratic Front.

After the liberation, the Albanian people looked forward to the establishment of normal state relations between Albania and all the allies of the National-liberation War. But the leading circles of the USA and of Britain hindered by all possible means the establishment of such relations, exerted pressure on the people's power and instigated the forces of the internal reaction to fight against it.

The U.S. and British imperialists also attempted to stage armed intervention. In January 1945, they demanded to expand their military missions in Tirana and, in May-June, to bring to Albania 1,500-1,700 officers and technicians of the Military Liaison (M.L.), who would be in charge, allegedly, of the distribution of their «aid». These demands were firmly rejected by the Democratic Government of Albania.

To pave the way for their armed intervention in Albania, the imperialists also made use of monarcho-fascist Greece. Immediately after liberation, directly incited by the USA and Britain, the Greek Government launched a widespread campaign in support of its timeworn claims to annex Southern Albania, organized systematic border provocations and made all-round preparations for an armed aggression to be associated with the landing of British forces on our coast. In the face of this new peril threatening the country, our people tightened their ranks around the Party, expressing their readiness to defend the independence and the territorial integrity of the Fatherland at any cost.

The Central Problem: Safeguarding and Consolidating the People's Power In these circumstances, the most urgent task confronting our Party was to safeguard and strengthen the people's power.

> «After every war and revolution,» instructed the CC of the CPA, «the most important and the most difficult question is the taking and maintenance of power. For us, for our Party too, the most important question is that of state power: this is our central problem. Accordingly, our main objective today is to strengthen the state power and, with it, to pass from victory to victory, from reform to reform».[1]

In order to attain this objective, the reinforcement of the political basis of the power of the national-liberation councils as bearers of the new state power was of particular importance. If the councils were to become all powerful organs of self-administration of the people, it was essential that they should be invigorated, reorganize their work so as to become thoroughly capable, the «driving force in each step forward in the political, economic and social fields». The elections to the local organs of power, which were held throughout the country in May 1945, served precisely this purpose.

During the electoral campaign, the Party carried out extensive political work with the masses to make clearer to them the popular character of the new power and its duties. It exposed the propaganda of reaction about the «incapability» of the state, and its aim to place the leadership of the councils in the hands of the «experienced» representatives of the overthrown classes.

People tested in the war, resolute, loyal to the people's interest and who enjoyed their confidence, were elected to the local organs of power.

Besides this, the Party organized the complete reconstruction of the state apparatus, new both in form and in content. Economic and social institutions and the people's courts were set up on a new basis; the people's police was created; the State Security organs were reorganized and strengthened.

The Party appointed its best cadres to the new state organs. Although they lacked experience in administrative work, nevertheless they were resolved to carry the revolution through to the end, to implement the Party line to the letter. They would master the art of governing in the course of work.

To the state organs were also appointed functionaries of the former administration, persons politically linked with the Party and with the people, although imbued with bourgeois culture, practices and mentalities. They gave their assistance to run the new state organs, but along with this they unconsciously introduced into the method and style of work of the new apparatus elements of the method and style of the old apparatus. This exercised its influence on the Party cadres working in administration and led to the spreading of organizational forms of work which were incompatible with the revolutionary character of our state power.

The main armed force of the revolution and of the state power was our National-liberation Army which was considered by the overthrown classes and the foreign reactionaries as the principal obstacle to attaining their objectives to the detriment of the people's power. The enemies aimed at eliminating it by spreading the view that Albania was not threatened by any danger, consequently, the army should be demobilized, because it was a heavy burden on our state and the whole economy of our country!

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[1] Circular Letter of the CC of the CPA, December 1944. Central Archives of the Party.

Our Party evaluated the maintaining and strengthening of the army as a vital question of our revolution, as an indispensable condition for the defense of the people's power, of the freedom and independence of our country. So that our army could fulfil its lofty mission, the CPA demanded that it be perfected, modernized and become

> «a model army endowed with all valuable qualities, and worthy of . . . the task of protecting the people and their power set up at the cost of such sacrifices and bloodshed».[1]

Any sacrifice made by the people and the state for the people's army was fully justified.

In line with the instructions of the Central Committee, the army began systematic training to master the art of modern warfare. In order to raise the military and political capability of army commanders and of commissars, schools and regular training courses were opened. Compulsory military service was introduced.

Besides strengthening and modernizing our army, the Party engaged in wide-scale, many-sided political work for the formation of a high level of consciousness among the fighters about the tasks of our army as a people's army, for the promotion of their loyalty to the cause of revolution, the preservation and the further development of the spirit of the National-liberation War. Political work in the army was the more indispensable as, in addition to former partizan fighters, its ranks included a large number of recruits who did not possess the necessary political maturity.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Our National-liberation Army, November 1944. Documents of the General Staff and of the Supreme Command of the ANLA, Tirana, 1966, p. 339.

Thanks to measures adopted by the Party, the army became the sure guarantee of the people's new democratic state.

To purge the country thoroughly of any remnants of the fascists and traitors was a pressing task. The Party turned the implementation of this task into a great political action, setting all the people in motion. With the support of the peasants, the state power organs and the military detachments wiped out the armed bands of the reactionaries. People's revolutionary tribunals imposed on the war criminals the sentences they deserved. These trials were turned into a great national indictment of the line of treachery pursued by the exploiting classes. They dealt a heavy blow not only to the internal reactionaries but also to their imperialist patrons.

The Democratic Front of Albania

The new historic tasks which confronted the Party could be carried out only if the unity of the masses of people around the Party, which was achieved during the National-liberation War, was maintained and further strengthened.

Under the new conditions, the Party advanced the slogan of national unity. Besides the broad masses of the people who had taken an active part in the war for national liberation, this union should include also all those who had been deceived by the reactionary chieftains or had stood aloof but now could make their contribution to the building of our new society.

Life had demonstrated that this unity could be maintained and strengthened only on the basis of the front created during the National-liberation War. The National-liberation Front had completely justified itself as a revolutionary organization which had assured the fighting unity of the broad masses of the people and played a decisive role in the victory over the enemies. In this field the Party had acquired valuable experience, which enabled it to further develop the tradition of the complete unity of the masses of the people in the front under its leadership.

The further strengthening of the National-liberation Front was the most appropriate and democratic way to deal with the attempts of internal and foreign enemies to create a reactionary «democratic» party for the purpose of splitting the people and robbing them of their victories.

In August 1945, under the slogan of national unity, the CPA convened the 1st Congress of the National-liberation Front. The congress laid down the tasks for the **Democratic Front of Albania,** as it was now called, and the measures for its further reinforcement.

The front was to be the mainstay of the people's power in its struggle to safeguard freedom and national independence, to reconstruct the country, to achieve its economic, social and cultural development on the road of socialism. The role of the front was the mobilization and political education of the broad masses of the people and the strengthening of the political unity of the Albanian people around the CPA. Expressing the will of the people, the 1st Congress of the Democratic Front called for elections to the Constituent Assembly. Following the establishment of the people's democratic state at the Përmet Congress, and now that the country had been liberated, the Constituent Assembly was to sanction the form of the political regime and adopt a new constitution. This task had already been laid down at the 2nd Session of the ANLC in October 1944.

The congress and the elections of new councils of the Democratic Front enlivened this organization and enhanced its role in the life of our country.

Nevertheless, the line of the Party regarding the Democratic Front was obstructed by the opportunist attitude of Sejfulla Malëshova and by the interference of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia. Under the mask of «the struggle against sectarian trends» the doors of the front were opened to hostile elements. The reaction exploited this possibility to introduce its henchmen into the front, in order to undermine it from within and, from these positions, to carry on the struggle against the people's power. However, the vigilance of the Party and of the broad masses of the people proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the inimical activity of the reactionary elements within the front.

The leading force in the front was the working class, to which were now opened wide vistas of increasing in numbers and becoming an industrial working class of a high socialist consciousness. As early as February 1945, it had created its own professional organizations (trade unions). The trade unions were charged by the Party with a role of importance in the communist education of workers and employees, and with becoming «the pillar of the Democratic Front and the people's power».[1]

The laboring peasantry, which had borne the brunt of battle in the National-liberation War, remained the broadest base of the Democratic Front. With the establishment of the people's power all the premises were created for the realization of their age-old dreams: to take over the land and do away with misery and backwardness.

The Albanian Anti-fascist Youth Union and the Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union, which operated within the scope of the Democratic Front, were to play a special role as a powerful lever of the Party in the mobilization and political education of the masses.

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[1] Instructions of the CC of the CPA on the preparatory work of the 1st Congress of Syndicates, September 2, 1945. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 254.

Now it was up to the Albanian youth as the most vigorous and revolutionary section of the people to take the lead in new battles for the rebuilding and socialist construction of our country. Addressing the 2nd Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha, assessing the great role played by the youth, said:

> «The Democratic Government, which has placed its hopes on you, is confident that you will always be in the vanguard, will throw yourselves into work just as you threw yourselves into the war; that you will learn and educate yourselves with great zeal for your own good and for the benefit of the people, strengthen and help our army, the steel-like shield of the people's interests, and defend the people's power for which you shed so much blood. . . »[1]

Through their participation in and contribution to the war the Albanian women had demonstrated that they were an important and essential factor for the development of the political and social life of our country. The first steps toward their emancipation, which had been taken during the war, should serve as a basis for the complete emancipation of all the masses of women so as to turn them into a great force in building the new society. The Party demanded that the equality of the woman with the man, already acknowledged by the Democratic Government at its Berat meeting, should become a reality. To achieve this, the Central Committee instructed the Party to strive untiringly for raising the political level of women, to enable them to acquire education and culture, to eliminate sectarianism in admitting women to Party membership and hesitation in promoting them to posts of responsibility.

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[1] «Bashkimi», April 17, 1945.

An important role in the emancipation of women was to be played by their active participation in the economic life of the country, first of all, in productive labor.

Foreign Policy The strengthening of the people's power in the country demanded the strengthening of its international stand also. The war they had waged and the contribution they had made to the common cause of the anti-fascist coalition entitled the Albanian people to a worthy place among the progressive peoples. Now Albania was no longer a token for barter in the exchanges of imperialist great powers. It had entered the international arena as a free and sovereign state.

Friendship with the Soviet Union and with the other countries of people's democracy was the foundation of the foreign policy of our Democratic Government. At the same time, our government stated that it was for friendly relations and cooperation with all countries which respected the freedom and independence of Albania and did not intervene in its internal affairs. Together with the other countries of the anti-imperialist democratic camp, Albania fought for a lasting peace, for the exposure of the aggressive war-mongering policy of imperialism, for friendship among the people, for their freedom and independence.

The Party considered friendship and close cooperation in all fields with the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy as an external factor of very great importance for ensuring Albania's national freedom and independence, for strengthening the international position of the new democratic Albanian State. The political and moral support in the international field, and the economic aid of the Soviet Union were appreciated by the Party as an external factor of outstanding importance for solving the tasks confronting the people's power. The Party also attached great importance to the establishment of relations of friendship and cooperation with the new Yugoslavia, as the peoples of Yugoslavia and Albania were bound closely together by the war and the blood shed in common against fascist aggressors.

The Communist Party of Albania followed with anxiety the development of events in Greece where internal and international reaction had launched a frenzied attack on the Greek National-liberation Front with which the Albanian people had been linked in their common fight against fascism. The Party and the Democratic Government of Albania took an internationalist stand, giving aid and support to the Greek progressive forces in their just struggle to resist reaction and establish democracy.

The CPA stood for the establishment of normal state relations also with capitalist countries on the basis of respect for national independence and territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs and mutual economic benefit. On this basis, our Democratic Government tried to normalize its relations with the USA, Great Britain and other countries, but encountered the aggressive policy of the U.S. and British imperialists.

Because of the hostile perfidious stand taken by the USA and Britain, Albania was not invited to the Conference of San Francisco for the founding of the United Nations Organization. It was not called to the London and Paris Conferences on War Reparations from Italy and Germany. Likewise, Albania was not invited to take part in the discussions on drafting the peace treaty with Italy. On all these occasions Albania should have occupied the place to which it was entitled by the sacrifices made during the war.

The USA and Britain threatened the independence and sovereignty of the country. Through slander, they tried to present small new Albania as a country which disturbed

peace and security in the Balkans. But all the intrigues of the U.S. and British imperialists to undermine the international position of the new Albanian State failed.

The Albanian people led by their Party resolutely beat back all imperialist pressures. The courageous defense of their independence and legitimate rights, the course they had taken, their alignment with the anti-imperialist democratic camp made the Albanian people one of the inflexible fighters for democracy and peace and strengthened the international position of new Albania.

2. MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE FIRST ECONOMIC-SOCIAL CHANGES

In the circumstances of the devastation left after the war, one of the most pressing problems was the reconstruction and normalization of the whole economic and cultural life of the country.

Great material and financial means were needed to solve this problem. The CPA was faced with the question of where to find these means.

Relying on Internal Forces

The U.S. and British imperialists hastened to offer their «aid» with the intention of exploiting the difficult economic situation in Albania. The CPA categorically rejected this enslaving «aid» and chose the course of building the country by relying, first of all, on the internal forces as well as on the fraternal help which the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy would give.

The Party made the problem of the reconstruction and the economic and cultural development of our country a matter of concern of the whole people. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and women set up squads, detachments, battalions and brigades for voluntary work. An unprecedented enthusiasm for work burst out throughout our country. In order to ease the sufferings of the war victims, they were provided with money, food and clothing, and people shared even their last morsel with them. Thanks to the supply of Soviet wheat our government was able to ensure the daily bread of the people.

Faced with a desperate lack of technical means and cadres, under extremely difficult conditions, our people worked self-sacrificingly, first and foremost, for the reconstruction of the demolished bridges and highways and for the speedy re-establishment of communication lines.

Through the efforts of workers, during the year 1945, some of the factories, power stations and mines were put into operation. The Party mobilized the peasantry to sow the ploughed land, to rebuild the burned down houses with a large assistance from the state. Work began in education and cultural institutions. New schools were opened, especially in the countryside. An extensive campaign was launched to do away with illiteracy among adults, which remained a grave plague inherited from the past. Old teachers and thousands of new ones who were trained in special courses threw themselves into this campaign as a voluntary action.

In the process of reconstruction the lack of technical cadres of different branches was very acute. Accordingly, training and qualification courses for technicians and workers were opened.

The youth shouldered the heaviest burden of the reconstruction. Young men and young women from town and countryside were the first to fill the ranks of the voluntary labor brigades. They were always in the lead in the actions for rebuilding roads, reconstructing blown up bridges and burned down houses. They were in the forefront of the campaign to spread the light of education and culture.

Through war profiteering, the capitalists had accumulated large amounts of capital, mainly in gold and merchandise. Our state deemed it reasonable and necessary that a good part of those profits should be taken over by the state and used for the needs of the people and for the reconstruction of the country. For this reason, in January 1945, the Law on Extraordinary Taxation on War Profits was passed. The taxation was progressive. The law provided also that the property of all those who did not pay these taxes was to be confiscated without compensation. This measure was directed at the same time against the economic power of capitalists.

In all districts special commissions were set up to assess the amounts of profits and taxation. Representatives of the people's power, the army and the mass organizations took part in these commissions which were set up and operated under the direct guidance of the Party organizations.

The merchants, manufacturers and all those who were taxed contrived by all means to evade the payment of the taxes imposed on them. They hid their stores of merchandise and gold. They tried to depict these measures as «robbing the people» and resorted to every trick to save the riches they had accumulated at the expense of the working people. The Central Committee instructed the Party organizations not to make any concessions and to fight persistently for the strict application of the law. Any leniency on this issue would only impair the authority of the people's power.

Backed up by the masses of the people, the commissions compelled the merchants and other capitalists to pay the taxes according to the law. In 1945, the revenue from the extraordinary taxation on war profits accounted for more than half the state budget income.

All those capitalists who did not pay the taxes had their property confiscated. Through these measures our state amassed a big quantity of various goods which enabled it to open the first state-owned shops. This marked the birth of the socialist state sector in trade.

Besides the Law on Extraordinary Taxation on War Profits, a number of other revolutionary measures were taken also. A law was passed on requisitioning food products and other materials needed for the reconstruction of the country. Backed up by the broad masses of people, special commissions were engaged in detecting hoarders and speculators. A system of fixed prices was enforced. Prices were supervised by the people themselves, and a vigorous campaign was conducted against speculation and the black market. Private accumulation and selling of grain was prohibited. A state monopoly in the accumulation and selling of grain was established and unified prices for buying and selling were fixed. Old banknotes were overprinted to check, to a certain extent, the inflation caused by the war and to control the circulation of old paper currency. The introduction of state control over foreign trade, which later on was to be changed into a state monopoly, reinforced these measures.

In this manner, the financial problems were settled temporarily to facilitate the reconstruction of the country, the normalization of its economic life, while at the same time the economic positions of the bourgeoisie were weakened.

Creation of the Socialist Sector of the Economy

The new political power of the people's revolution could not be maintained on the old social and economic basis. On this basis neither the tasks of reconstruction nor, even less, those of the further development of the revolution could be successfully carried out.

First and foremost, foreign capital, which had dominated the key positions in finance, in mining and industry, had to be done away with. The local exploiting classes also still held strong economic positions and the principal means of production. Both these groups tried to sabotage the reconstruction work, to disorganize economic life and to arouse distrust toward the people's power. Albanian and foreign merchants and entrepreneurs deliberately withheld their goods from the market, causing increased prices and encouraging the black market. They closed factories and workshops, leaving the workers unemployed, and engaged in speculation, especially in grain. This disturbed the economic life and caused difficulties in the lives of the working people. In these circumstances it became even more necessary to do away with the old economic basis.

The radical solution of this problem demanded deep economic and social changes and the construction of a new socialist base of the economy.

It is true that, after liberation, the most pressing social and economic tasks were to carry out changes of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character. This was an inevitable and logical sequel of the people's revolution carried through to the end.

However, under the new political conditions, when the people's power had started exercising the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party could not wait, nor did it wait, for all these democratic transformations to be carried through to the end, and only then begin to solve questions of a socialist character. The ratio of class forces in Albania permitted that, simultaneously with rapid changes of a democratic character, changes of a socialist character also could be undertaken.

Of all these transformations, the socialization of the main means of production, through their nationalization, was the most important and decisive.

State control of production and distribution was the first preparatory step toward the nationalization of the principal means of production. This was established in December 1944. State control was at the same time a form of workers' control. It included enterprises of importance for our people's economy owned by Albanian and foreign capitalists.

The control was exercised through state-appointed commissars.

Assisted by Party organs and state commissars, the workers took part vigorously in the organization of production and the management of enterprises. Thus they had the opportunity to test their forces and gain experience in managing production. Through the workers' control, the production capacity of enterprises, the sources and reserves of raw materials and fuels were assessed. This prepared the ground for the working class to take over the enterprises and run them once they were nationalized.

In December 1944, the mines and the property of political fugitives were nationalized. A month later, the Law on the Confiscation of the Property of Italian and German Subjects in Albania came into force. Under this law, the National Bank and other banks, as well as the property of share-holder companies owned by foreign capitalists, were transferred to the Albanian State without compensation as common property of the people. In April 1945, all privately-owned means of transport were requisitioned with fixed compensation.

Through these important nationalization measures the key positions of economy passed into the hands of the state to be put at the service of the working masses. The elimination of the economic positions of foreign capital put an end to the economic dependence on the imperialist powers, which further reinforced the political independence of the country.

As to their form, the nationalization measures of the year 1945 were of a generally democratic nature, but their economic and social content reflected changes that went beyond these limits. The nationalizations were carried through in the interests of the working masses and the nationalized means of production were put completely and directly at their service. Therefore these nationalization measures were in essence a socialization of the principal means of production and had a socialist character. On their basis the state socialist sector of the economy came into being.

A particular role was played by the trade unions in ensuring an ever broader participation of the working masses in the work of rebuilding the country, in its political, social and state life. Under the guidance of the Party, they became an important factor in carrying out the tasks which confronted the people's power. In particular, they exerted great efforts to raise production and efficiency, to improve the living and working conditions of the workers, as well as to carry out their vocational and political education.

In July 1945, consumers' cooperatives for workers and employees began to be set up in the towns. They were the first economic organizations of the masses. At a time when the state sector in trade was in its initial stage of development, they played a big role in supplying the working people regularly, and in the fight against speculation and the black market. Alongside the establishment of consumers' cooperatives, the Party worked hard at convincing the artisans why they should join in cooperatives as well.

With the creation of the socialist sectors of economy, important measures were taken in favor of the workers and employees. An 8-hour working day was enforced.

The principle of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of age and sex, as well as the right to 15 days paid annual holiday were put into practice. Unemployment was almost completely eliminated.

These revolutionary victories somewhat improved the living conditions of the workers and cleared the ground for new victories in the economic and social development of our country on a socialist basis.

Doing Away with Old Agrarian Relations

In the field of agriculture, the most acute and pressing problem was the elimination of former agrarian relations. This problem had to do with the radical solution of the antagonistic contradictions between the laboring peasantry and the big landowners, that is to say, with the biggest democratic change which remained to be carried out. This was now the main field for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry. Therefore, in its agricultural policy, the Party devoted special attention to this problem.

In January 1945, a law was promulgated to annul all the old land rents which were unpaid, whereas rents of the years 1944–1945 were to be reduced down to 75 per cent. But this was a halfway measure which did not meet with the unanimous approval of the poor peasantry, and it was for this reason that the law in question was not put fully into execution.

At this time, the entire irrigation system — formerly private property — was nationalized and given to the peasantry for their common use. In order to somewhat ease the living conditions of the laboring peasantry and the working masses, all interest-bearing debts incurred before liberation were cancelled.

However, the CPA was conscious of the fact that all these measures were only palliatives and did not solve the main problem — that of the land. During the war, it had promised the peasantry that it would fight for the solution of the agrarian question and had already taken preparatory measures. Immediately after the liberation the Party launched the slogan «The land to those who till it!». Inspired by this slogan, the peasantry insisted on the application of a thorough revolutionary agrarian reform.

The Law on Agrarian Reform was promulgated in August 1945. According to this law, state-owned land, the estates of religious institutions and all areas of private land exceeding defined limits were to be expropriated and alienated. These limits were laid down as follows: up to 40 hectares when the owner had an exemplary economy which he managed himself, 20 hectares when the owner tilled or managed the land himself, 7 hectares when the proprietor did not till the land himself but would do so not later than within two years' time.

Under the conditions of Albania, where the acreage of arable land was very limited, the 20-40 hectares of land left to private proprietors was too much. With this amount of land quite a number of landlords still retained their positions in the countryside; the economic power of the rich peasant (the kulak) was not affected at all, whereas many poor peasants remained without land. These shortcomings of the Law on Agrarian Reform arose directly from the influence of the opportunist standpoint of Sejfulla Malëshova and of the representatives of the CP of Yugoslavia.

The expropriation of land exceeding the defined limits was carried through without compensation. It was distributed without cost as private property to the landless and landpoor peasants. Up to 5 hectares of land was allotted to each head of a family. Selling, buying, or leasing of land were prohibited.

Part of the expropriated land was not distributed but was turned into state property. The state farms set up in these lands marked the birth of the socialist state sector in agriculture. Besides, the forests, springs, water supplies and all subsoil riches were proclaimed the common property of the people.

Prior to and after the issuing of the Law on Agrarian Reform, the Party did a great deal of work, especially with the communists of villages and with the laboring peasantry, to have them understand the objectives of this reform.

It warned that the reaction would make use of all means to hinder the application of the agrarian reform, to dampen the enthusiasm of peasants, and to make the people believe that the Democratic Government was incompetent. The Central Committee instructed that the agrarian reform should be regarded as a great political action, which was not only to give the peasants the land, but also to free them once for all from the centuries-old feudal oppression and exploitation, and unite the peasantry still more closely around the Party.

For the speedy and correct application of the agrarian reform the Party set up poor peasants' committees. They played an important role in the accurate definition of the lands of the state, the big landowners and the enemies of the people, and in compiling lists of peasant families with little or no land. They helped in the division of the expropriated land and, especially, in mobilizing the laboring peasantry to expose and to fight the hostile activity of the landlords and other reactionary forces who rose against the land reform from its very start. The formation of the poor peasants' committees and their entire activity to carry out the land reform greatly assisted to raise the political class consciousness of the poor peasantry.

3. THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The demand of the 1st Congress of the Democratic Front for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly was embodied in the Law on the Elections to the Constituent Assembly issued by the Anti-fascist National-liberation Council in September 1945.

According to the law, the elections, which would take place on December 2, 1945, were to be democratic, free, general, equal, direct and secret. All Albanian citizens, men and women, over 18 years of age enjoyed the right to vote. The fighters of the National-liberation Army enjoyed this right irrespective of their age. Excluded from the right to vote were ex-ministers of the Quisling government, the war criminals, and all those who had lost their civic rights.

The Determination of the People to Proceed on the Road of the Party

The election to the Constituent Assembly would be the most important political action of the Party, a great test of its political maturity and of its organizational capability, of the strength of its links with the masses and of the determination of the people to proceed on the road of the Party. The CPA as a whole was mobilized to win this new political battle under the slogan «For the People's Republic».

Speaking on the Party work during the electoral campaign at the 4th Plenum, which discussed the question of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha said:

> «The people must see concretely that those who liberated the Fatherland from the invaders and traitors are also able to govern, are able to recon-

> struct and to improve the economic and social life of their country. The communists should emerge from the electoral campaign with a great experience, it should be a school for them and equip them to solve the other major problems that lie ahead».[1]

The Party gave the instruction that the elections to the Constituent Assembly should be turned into a great people's plebiscite with the participation of all those entitled to vote and ensure complete victory for the Democratic Front. Accordingly, the CPA decided to present a single list of candidates of the Democratic Front. However, as a result of the opportunist deviations of Sejfulla Malëshova, this list included a number of representatives of reaction, and a coalition in the elections was proposed to the Catholic clergy.

Internal and foreign reactionary forces tried to exploit the election campaign for their own purposes. Taking advantage of the provisions of the electoral law, reaction decided at first to present its own lists of candidates as a bloc in opposition to the front. When this first attempt failed, from lack of support among the people, they changed their tactics and decided to boycott the elections. The reaction called on the people to abstain, claiming that allegedly «there was no democracy», «there was the dictatorship of a single party» and that «the election law was anti-democratic», because «it did not ensure equal rights to all the citizens who desired to put forward their candidature». Gjergj Kokoshi, one of the principal spokesmen of reaction, who was a member of the ANLC, demonstratively left the Democratic Front. Especially active in the attempt to boycott the elections was the «Albanian Union» — an illegal organization directed by the reactionary Catholic clergy. To attain its aim, this organization did not shrink from collaborating with fugitive war criminals and resorting to terrorist actions.

Other representatives of the reaction who had remained within the Democratic Front did not feel strong enough to come out in open opposition. For the time being, till the elections were over, they decided to remain in its ranks with the objective of being elected to the Constituent Assembly under the banner of the front. Afterwards they would set up a group, organize a legal «opposition», or even found an independent party.

The direct instigators and organizers of the hostile activity of the internal reaction were the U.S. and British imperialists. They left no stone unturned to defeat the Democratic Front at the elections. They opened a propaganda campaign against the front and the CPA and went to such lengths as to demand that the Democratic Government allow the officers of their military missions in Tirana unrestricted control of the electoral campaign, and so on. They employed the question of the recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania as a special means of pressure. They announced that they would recognize the Albanian Government only on the condition that the USA and Britain «were convinced that the elections were conducted freely», and that «foreign correspondents would be allowed freedom to supervise the way the elections were carried out». This was just an attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of Albania, because, in fact, all the above conditions were already met by the election law and by the entire spirit and activity of the people's power.

The U.S. Government put forward other conditions as well. On this occasion it demanded recognition of all the agreements concluded between the USA and Albania prior to April 7, 1939.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, October 17, 1945. Central Archives of the Party.

The U.S. and British Governments announced the establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the Albanian Democratic Government. However, this was only a political manoeuvre directed against the people's power and aimed at encouraging internal reaction. In fact they did not establish diplomatic relations with Albania after the elections either.

The CPA resolutely rejected all the new attempts of the imperialists and did not permit any interference in the internal affairs of Albania. It carried out extensive propaganda work to expose the aims and the tactics of the external and internal reaction and succeeded in isolating the enemy forces and strengthening further the political unity of the people around its platform.

When the electoral campaign was in full swing an event of great importance for our country occurred. In November 1945, the Government of the Soviet Union officially recognized the Democratic Government of Albania. Following the recognition of the Democratic Government by the USSR, Yugoslavia and Poland, it was recognized successively by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, and other countries. This strengthened the international position of the people's power in Albania and deepened the confidence of the masses of the people in the future of their country.

About 90 per cent of voters took part in the elections of December 2, and 93 per cent of them cast their ballots for the candidates of the Democratic Front. These were the first democratic elections ever held in Albania. They were a great school for the political education of the people, the Democratic Front and the Party.

The CPA scored a sweeping victory while reaction was defeated. With this victory the free and sovereign Albanian people expressed their full approval of the policy of the Party and their determination to proceed undeviatingly along the road the Party indicated.

The Proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania

On the eve of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly the people instructed their elected representatives to express themselves for the proclamation of the people's republic. On January 11, 1946 the Constituent Assembly, expressing the will of the people, unanimously proclaimed Albania a People's Republic and chose the new government with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head.

The Party brought the draft Constitution drawn up by the government to the judgment of the whole people. The discussions, which lasted over two months, were very fruitful. The proposals made by the masses of the people were a valuable contribution to strengthening the revolutionary content of the Constitution. On March 14, 1946, the Constituent Assembly adopted the new Constitution. Its task accomplished, the Constituent Assembly was turned into the People's Assembly as the highest organ of state power in the PRA.

The new democratic Constitution sanctioned the historic victories achieved and confirmed the changes which had taken place in the political and economic order of the country after the establishment of the people's power. It reflected the initial process of the development of the country on the road to socialism and opened wide vistas for further economic and social changes.

First of all, the Constitution laid down the fundamental principle of the structure and the activity of the people's power: **the power derives from the people and belongs to the people.**

The Constitution proclaimed the principle that the main means of social production were common property of the people, cooperative property and private property. The private sector was subject to state control. To defend the vital interests of the people and to raise the level of the people's well-being, the state was to guide the life of the country and its economic development according to a general plan. To this end the state was to rely on the direct participation of the working masses.

Social property, the socialist sector of the economy — the state and the cooperative sectors — was to be the foundation of our social and economic order. With a view to the uninterrupted development and strengthening of the socialist economy, the Constitution defined the right of the state to restrict and to expropriate private property when the general social interest required it. On this basis entire branches of economy or single economic enterprises could be nationalized. The formation of capitalist monopolies, trusts and cartels was forbidden.

The Constitution regarded work as an honor and duty for everybody. It proclaimed the principle that each citizen was entitled to be paid according to his work and capability.

The Constitution upheld the principle of free elections by direct, general, equal and secret ballot. Electors had the right to revoke their representatives in the various organs of state power. All citizens were guaranteed freedom of meeting, of organizing, of speech and belief, and the necessary measures were provided for the preservation and implementation of these rights.

Such were some of the fundamental principles of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. With the adoption of the Constitution, the process of the political organization of the people's democratic order as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat was further perfected.

Besides its general content as a dictatorship of the proletariat, the PR of Albania had some special features of its own. These were:

The people's power was born in the war for national liberation following the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the invaders and of the reactionary classes of the country.

The people's councils, immediate successors of the national-liberation councils, became the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry, the highest principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was embodied in the Democratic Front, which represented the political army of our revolution.

Ever since the establishment of the people's power, at its head had been only one party — the Communist Party of Albania — which was the only party in the country. It exercised the undivided leadership of the political, economic and social life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was the direct offspring of the people's revolution, which began during the National-liberation War as an anti-imperialist democratic revolution and was developed without interruption into a socialist revolution after the liberation of the country. While in the first stage of the revolution the strategic objective of the Party was to ensure national independence and the establishment of the order of people's democracy, in the second stage the strategic objective was to reinforce the state of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to eliminate the economic base of capitalism and to build a socialist society.

These two stages were links of a single revolution which complemented each other. The accomplishment of the tasks of the first stage created the indispensable premises for the second stage. The second stage had its roots in the first, and grew out of it. Those democratic changes which remained uncompleted from the first stage were carried out in the second stage.

4. OUR PARTY'S ORIENTATION ON DEEPENING THE REVOLUTION AND BUILDING SOCIALISM. THE ELIMINATION OF OPPORTUNIST MANIFESTATIONS

The changes of the year 1945 had laid the first economic and social foundations for Albania to embark on the road of socialism. Now the question was to push ahead more rapidly on this road. This required the completion of the changes initiated and the definition of the main directions of socialist construction.

However, the solution of this problem was hindered by opportunist viewpoints and attitudes which had appeared in the implementation of the Party line. Their bearer was Sejfulla Malëshova, Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party. Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunism was a direct expression of his capitulation to the strong pressure exerted by the overthrown classes and, particularly, by the U.S. and British imperialists, on the Democratic Government and on the leadership of the CPA.

His opportunistic manifestations had been criticized and severely condemned at the meeting of the Political Bureau in December 1945, but Sejfulla Malëshova, though he had found no support, stubbornly continued to defend his standpoint.

The 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA

To solve the questions connected with the orientation of the Party on intensifying the revolution and the construction of socialism, the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was convened in February 1946.

The plenum pointed out that the line of the Party had been severely damaged by the thoroughly opportunist view which Sejfulla Malëshova had maintained in the political and economic fields.

Sejfulla Malëshova upheld his opinion that the new democratic order established in Albania should be an order of bourgeois democracy. He called for slackening the class struggle; he overestimated the strength of the overthrown classes, and had no confidence in the strength of the Party and the people. He was for complete freedom of activity for the private capitalist sector, for its uncontrolled and unrestricted development and against supporting the cooperative sector in town and countryside. In essence, he was against the construction of socialism and a defender of the free development of capitalism.

In the field of foreign policy, he was afraid of imperialism and knelt before its might. He made the fate of the freedom and of the independence of Albania, the fate of the people's power, dependent on the political and economic concessions to be made to the U.S. and British imperialists, and he was always ready to submit to them. He demanded that no discrimination should be made between the Soviet Union and the USA and Great Britain, that the stand toward relations with them should be the same.

With his right opportunist viewpoints Sejfulla Malëshova had become a mouthpiece and defender of the interests of the local bourgeoisie and of the imperialists within the Party; he had turned into one of their lackeys. If these viewpoints were not exposed and combatted, the Party line and the construction of socialism in Albania would have been endangered and obstructed. Their elimination was an urgent and vital question.

The 5th Plenum firmly condemned and rejected these standpoints. As Sejfulla Malëshova persisted in his mistakes, the plenum removed him from the Political Bureau and from the Central Committee of the Party.

The exposure of the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova made it possible for the Central Committee to guide the Party toward the intensification of the socialist revolution in the political, economic and ideological fields. It drew up in general lines the principal directives of the socialist construction.

First and foremost, industry, internal wholesale trade and all foreign trade were to pass entirely into the hands of the state. Producers' and consumers' cooperatives were to be set up in cities and villages. The state was to exercise rigorous control on the private sector and unremittingly restrict the capitalist elements.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the course the Party would pursue in economy as follows:

> «Everything to strengthen the state sector, merciless struggle against private capital, and the greatest state aid possible to producers' and consumers' cooperatives».[1]

For the development of the productive forces and the exploitation of natural resources, a general direction was given for the setting up of heavy industry, mainly on the basis of the exploitation of minerals, and for the building of light industry.

Toward the elimination of the former relations in the countryside, which had been begun, it was decided to carry the agrarian reform through to the end and to set about the collectivization of agriculture. Simultaneously, model state farms were to be set up. The state should assist the laboring peasantry through financial means and work implements and restrict the kulaks. The mechanization of agriculture, the elimination of its one-sided character, the spreading of new crops, the development of animal husbandry, land drainage and reclamation were designated as the general lines along which the productive forces in the countryside were to be developed.

To intensify the revolution in the fields of education and culture as a constituent part of the socialist revolution, the 5th Plenum instructed that education should be reformed on these principles: education and culture were to become the property of the broad masses of the people, and not remain the privilege of a minority, the school should be stripped of the old spirit and imbued with a new revolutionary spirit. But, above all, it was necessary to wipe out illiteracy.

For the socialist construction of the country it was of decisive importance to train capable technical and professional cadres imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology to run the state and its economy.

In the field of foreign policy, the principal task of the Party was to fight for the defense of the freedom and independence of the country, to strengthen the friendship with the USSR and the other countries of people's democracy, and peace in the world. The 5th Plenum especially emphasized that a clear-cut, resolute and principled attitude should be taken toward U.S. and British imperialism, which represented the main danger to national independence and the people's democratic order.

The people's power would always remain a decisive weapon to cope with the new tasks of socialist development. The 5th Plenum directed that the state power should be democratized, not only in its content, but also in its structure and the composition of its administrative apparatus. The specialists of the old administration who worked in the state organs should be kept under constant supervision to prevent the introduction of bureaucratic methods. To strengthen the Democratic Front a radical purge of hostile elements from its ranks was ordered.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report Submitted to the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, February 21, 1942. Central Archives of the Party.

Finally, the most important task of all, the intensification of the revolution and the construction of socialism made it absolutely necessary to strengthen the Party, to raise to a higher level its leading and organizational role in the entire life of the country. For this purpose, the decision of the 4th Plenum of October 1945 to convene the 1st Congress of the Party was re-adopted. It was decided to hold the congress on May 25, 1946. However, due to the intervention of the CP of Yugoslavia leadership this decision was not put into execution and the congress was postponed for an indefinite period.

The Deepening of Economic and Social Transformations

The directives of the 5th Plenum of the CC were reflected at once in the Constitution of the PR of Albania, the draft of which was being discussed at that time by the people.

After the session, a new phase of nationalizations began. The power stations, the construction materials industry, the entire existing light and food-processing industries, property chiefly of the local bourgeoisie, became state property. At the end of the year 1946, the principal means of production in the cities had been turned into social property, and 87 per cent of the volume of total industrial output was contributed by the state sector. By the end of 1947 production by private capitalist industry was almost entirely eliminated.

The socialist socialization of the principal means of production put an end to the economic domination of the bourgeoisie. It laid the economic foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist relations in production and the socialist sector of economy in industry, trade, transport and finance were born precisely on the basis of this socialization. The nationalized enterprises became socialist enterprises. In them the exploitation of man by man was eliminated.

The nationalization of the principal means of production in Albania was done quickly and without compensation. It took place as a result of the deep class differentiation which was made during the National-liberation War and after the war, and which had led to the elimination of the political domination of the bourgeoisie. This also removed the principal obstacle to the elimination of its economic basis.

The rapid rate of the socialization had its own difficulties, as well. The working class and the state took over the means of production without being fully prepared to organize and manage them efficiently. Engineers and technicians with experience and loyal to the revolution were lacking. Nevertheless, due to the good organization and to the all-round political preparation of workers and, likewise, to the state control which had been established in the capitalist enterprises, the nationalization was carried through without economic upheavals and damage.

Alongside the state socialist sector, the cooperative sector was set up and developed. During 1946 many new consumers' cooperatives in towns and trading cooperatives in villages were created. In response to the call of the Party, the individual artisans embraced the form of socialist cooperation. By the end of 1946 the handicraft cooperatives included more than half of the artisans.

To ensure the supply of the population with bread, in June 1946 the state system of purchase, procurement and sale of food grains was established. This measure did away with any possibility of private merchants speculating with the people's bread.

In July 1946 the monetary reform was carried out, establishing the maximum limit of new banknotes which one family could exchange. Through this measure a good part of monetary means was taken from the hands of capitalist elements, and the grave consequences of inflation which affected the working masses were eliminated.

To ensure a more equitable and regular distribution of foodstuffs, in September 1946 the ration system was introduced. Under this system, a higher ration of foodstuffs was allotted to workers employed in the most important branches of economy than to the rest of the population. The weakness of this system was that no differentiation was made between the rations for the workers or employees, and for capitalist elements who were not in work relations with the state.

The establishment of the ration system was necessary at a time when food supplies were limited. It ensured the fulfilment of the primary needs of the working masses and blocked the road to speculation with rationed foodstuffs. The Party was conscious that the ration system was a temporary measure which would be withdrawn as soon as suitable economic conditions were created.

With the creation and the expansion of the socialist sector, possibilities increased and the planned direction and regulation of the entire economic life of the country was made indispensable. In August 1946, the Law on the General Economic State Plan and on the Planning Organs was adopted. The Planning Commission, created in 1945, was reorganized and the work for drafting the general economic plan for the year 1947 began immediately.

In May 1946 modifications were made in the Law on Agrarian Reform, which gave it a deeper revolutionary content. All lands, vineyards, olive groves, gardens, buildings and agricultural inventories owned by those who did not cultivate the land themselves were expropriated. All farmers and proprietors who cultivated the land themselves were left with no more than 5 hectares of land. The sale and purchase under any title whatsoever and the mortgaging of land were prohibited.

With these modifications the principle «the land belongs to him who cultivates it» was fully applied, big landownership was eliminated and a blow was dealt at the economic position of the kulaks (wealthy peasants). They aroused a new wave of enthusiasm among the working peasantry and secured its more lively participation in the application of the reform.

These modifications encountered the fierce opposition of the exploiting classes. Big landlords and wealthy peasants used all means to impede the execution of the agrarian reform. They warned the peasants against taking the lands allotted to them by the reform and threatened them with the slogan: «The government will not be recognized by the great powers and the people's power will soon be destroyed.» The reactionary clergy declared and preached that the land is «sacred» and that «whoever lays hands on it will be punished by God». In particular, inimical activity was carried out by some of the bourgeois technicians and representatives of the overthrown classes who had wormed their way into poor peasants' committees, into the state apparatus and the organs of agriculture. They attempted to leave the landlords and wealthy peasants with the best lands or more land than was due to them. Rich proprietors began to slaughter their cattle and to destroy their implements which were to be distributed to the peasants. In some instances, they even passed to overt terrorist actions against the militants of the Party and the state. The U.S. and British missions in Tirana, which organized the sabotage of the reform, especially in Myzeqe, gave them direct aid.

For the full application of the agrarian reform the entire Party was set in motion, which raised the poor peasant masses to their feet and organized a sharp struggle against the class enemies. The city workers also came to the aid of the peasants. In November 1946 the reform was completed successfully throughout Albania. The peasants became truly the masters of the soil, where they had toiled and sweated generation after generation. The Party fulfilled their age-old dream.

One hundred and seventy-three thousand hectares of land, 474,000 olive trees and 6,000 draught animals were expropriated by the reform. About 90 per cent of the total area of expropriated land (155,000 hectares), half of the olive trees and all of the draught animals were distributed gratuitously among 70,000 landless or landpoor peasant families.

The agrarian reform was the first revolution in the economic-social relations of the countryside. Its essence was the democratic change of agrarian relations in the countryside. It eliminated large-scale landownership, it swept away for ever the remnants of feudalism and the landlord class in Albania. By the restriction of private property over the land, by the prohibition of the sale and purchase, leasing or mortgaging of land, the polarization of the peasantry was hindered and the confines of its exploitation by the kulaks were extremely restricted. Such being the case, the agrarian reform contained, at the same time, elements of an emphatically anti-capitalist character also. This occurred because the reform was applied by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these circumstances, though it preserved small private ownership of the land by the working peasants and increased the number of middle peasants, the agrarian reform limited the terrain for the development of capitalism in the countryside.

The allocation of land to peasants and their liberation from the yoke of the landlords and merchants aroused their desire for and interest in a better exploitation of the land, for a more speedy development of the productive forces in agriculture.

The application of the agrarian reform demonstrated that it is only the working class and its party that, after taking over the political power, are capable of carrying out radical changes in agrarian relations.

The agrarian reform further strengthened, on an economic basis, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry; it also strengthened the people's power itself, which had this same alliance at its foundation. The laboring peasants tightened their ranks around the Party and formed a more profound conviction in the correctness of its political line. All this was a support of great importance for the Party to enter the road of gradual socialist changes in the countryside. The work of the CPA for spreading the idea of collectivization among the peasants resulted in the setting up of agricultural cooperatives of production in 1946. The first cooperative was set up in Krutje of Myzeqe.

The economic-social changes created new conditions which facilitated the development of the cultural revolution, whereas the new tasks of the socialist construction required that this revolution develop with rapid strides. The cultural revolution found its expression, first of all, in the educational reform of August 1946. According to this reform, education became universal, free, equal, secular and given in the mother tongue. The school was given a completely state and unified character. Tuition fees were abolished. Primary education became obligatory in the entire Republic. The systems of pre-school education, of vocational instruction, and of schooling for adults were created. New plans, programs and textbooks with a new content were drafted. Primary schools were opened in every village. Along with this, the campaign for the elimination of illiteracy was intensified.

A fundamental problem of the cultural revolution and of socialist revolution in general was the creation of the new intelligentsia. The solution of this problem, under the circumstances when the Albanian intellectuals comprised a very small number, was of vital importance. For this purpose, many sons of the people were sent abroad for higher studies, especially to the Soviet Union. Despite the economic difficulties, the state provided the specialists with suitable conditions for work, creative activity and living. The constructive work, the educational work and the ardent support of the Party rendered it possible for many of the old cadres to be re-educated, to embrace the Marxist-Leninist ideology and to accept the leading role of the Party.

The new socialist changes in the economic, social and cultural domain were accompanied by a purge of enemy elements from the organs of the people's power and from the Democratic Front organizations. This purpose was served especially by the new elections to the people's councils and to the leading organs of the front.

By special laws, the rights and the duties of the local organs of power were extended and the State Control Commission was created. By its agency, the control of the working masses over the state organs and their activities was increased.

Through the new revolutionary measures, the Democratic Front improved its own social composition. The front now represented a purely political organization of the laboring masses.

The socialist changes and the revolutionary drive of the masses made it possible for the main works, destroyed by the war, to be reconstructed during the year 1946. At the end of that year output in industry as well as in agriculture reached the 1938 level. Besides, relying mainly on voluntary work, new projects were also undertaken. Our youth built the Kukës-Peshkopia highway. The Maliq swamp was drained, new irrigation and drainage canals were dug, and so on. In enthusiastic work for the reconstruction of the country, the initiative and creative activity of the working masses were developed, socialist emulation was organized, and the shock brigade movement sprang into existence as an expression of the new stand toward work.

Theses on Reviewing the Proceedings of the Berat Plenum

The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee, which worked out the fundamental directions of socialist construction and dealt a heavy blow at opportunism, did not, however, discover and eliminate the source of this opportunism: the erroneous estimations and orientations of the 2nd Plenum of Berat. It did not condemn nor avert the Yugoslav intervention in our internal affairs, did not re-establish unity and collective leadership in the Party. Consequently, the leadership of the entire life of the Party and of the country by the Central Committee and the Political Bureau encountered great obstacles. Through their agents in the CPA, the Yugoslav revisionists exerted every effort to remove the Secretary-General from the direction of the Party work on the pretext that he should occupy himself exclusively with state affairs, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In fact, the entire direction of the Party was concentrated in the hands of Koçi Xoxe, Organizational Secretary of the CC. Thus a Party-state duality had been created. In reality, however, by employing the authority of the Party, Koçi Xoxe attempted to get hold of the direction of state power as well. He had managed to create such a system that orders, decrees and laws could be put into execution only after special instructions of the CC apparatus signed by him had been issued. This method of work had greatly weakened the role of state organs, nurtured bureaucracy and impeded the speedy and correct solution of problems.

In this situation there was no guarantee that the Party could safeguard the purity of its general line or successfully accomplish its great tasks of building socialism and defending national freedom and independence.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had never been convinced of the correctness of the conclusions and decisions of the 2nd Plenum of Berat, had come to the conclusion that they should be re-examined and corrected. Only in this manner could the unity in the leadership be re-established, the Political Bureau and the Central Committee function normally as leading organs of the Party and the life of the country, and the implementation of the directions for the socialist construction issued by the 5th Plenum be assured.

With this intent, in June 1946 he submitted at the Political Bureau a special report on re-examining the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee.

The principal theses of this report were:

— The preparations for the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum gravely violated the norms of the internal life of the Party. The problems which had been submitted to the Political Bureau for discussion prior to the plenum had not been proposed in a comradely and communist manner, but had been decided outside the Political Bureau, without a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, but with passion and prejudice, without submitting them to a free exchange of opinions. They were put forward in the form of a «coup d'état».

— The estimations and conclusions of the 2nd Plenum of Berat were absolutely erroneous.

— The brilliant stage of the National-liberation War was «obscured, belittled and condemned» by the 2nd Plenum of Berat.

— The independence of the CPA was seriously encroached upon.

— The principal persons responsible were Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova. «Velimir Stoinich trifled with our Party and our people». He «directed and encouraged the proceedings» of the 2nd Plenum.

— The orientations of the 2nd Plenum had grave repercussions for our Party and, if they continued, would become a great danger to it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha knew nothing, as yet, of the behind-the-scenes dealings in Berat, of the plot which had been set up by the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia, or of all the accomplices of this plot. He considered Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova as principal persons responsible, because it was they who had carried the banner of the anti-Party assault at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee. The others, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Nako Spiru, were merely criticized for the support they had given to Velimir Stoinich and Sejfulla Malëshova. Although unaware of the behind-the-scenes dealings, Comrade Enver Hoxha, by analysing the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum with a Marxist eye, had formed the absolute conviction that at this plenum the Party line had been condemned unjustly and without any reason whatsoever, that the Party had not been politically mistaken, that its line had been correct. Therefore, he demanded that the decisions of this plenum should be rejected, the historic truth should be re-established and the peril which menaced the independence of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line should be averted.

These correct theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha were opposed in the Political Bureau and were rejected by Koçi

Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. They feared that a detailed discussion and approval of these theses would bring to light their anti-Party work and the inimical intervention of the CP of Yugoslavia in the internal affairs of the CPA.

As for Nako Spiru, he did not have the courage to disclose publicly his own activity and that of the other participants in the organization of the back-stage manoeuvres. Thinking that his mistake in Berat would be covered by the lapse of time, and that he would make amends for his offense through work, after the theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha had been submitted, Nako Spiru began to uphold, on all occasions, the correct viewpoints of the Secretary-General. Thereafter, he fought with determination for the Party line on the question of the construction of socialism.

As the theses put forward in the report had not been approved, with the aim of creating conditions for correcting the mistakes and establishing unity in the Political Bureau, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that the Political Bureau should be broadened by the admission of new members tested in battle and at work. But this proposition also was opposed by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, and was not approved in full.

Efforts to Normalize the Internal Life of the Party

The new conditions which were created in the country after the triumph of the people's revolution, the new historic tasks which confronted the Party, required the elimination of wartime limitations in the internal democracy of the Party, the application of all Marxist-Leninist norms in its organizational life. But the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership, the copying of its Trotskyite-revisionist forms and methods by Koçi Xoxe prevented any such thing, engendered deviations and accentuated shortcomings in the organizational line. To

correct these shortcomings and to normalize the situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that an analysis should be made of the organizational work of the Party and of the relations between the Party and state power. In this matter Koçi Xoxe was charged with presenting a report to the Political Bureau. However, on the instigation of the CP of Yugoslavia leadership, he dodged this report and never presented it. This was to avoid an attack on Koçi Xoxe who was directly responsible for distortions in organizational questions, to avert the bringing to light of the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership and the distorted line it was imposing on the CP of Albania.

On the persistent demand of Comrade Enver Hoxha and other comrades of the leadership, the Central Committee, nevertheless, took certain steps to normalize the organizational life of the Party. Lacking a Constitution, it issued detailed instructions which regulated the internal life of the Party, the admission of new members and the relations of the Party with the state and with the organizations of the masses. In these instructions, however, no mention was made of elections to Party organs. Later, in March 1947, the Central Committee decided that elections should be held only for secretaries of the cells. But even here not all the organizational regulations were observed. The secretaries were elected by open ballot. No elections took place for the Party bureaux and committees.

Of special importance to the internal life of the Party were the purge of its ranks (the audit) which was carried through during the year 1946, and the distribution of membership cards. As the result of the audit, 1,246 people, constituting 10 per cent of the total number of members and candidate members, were excluded from the Party. Amongst them were many who were not worthy of the proud title of Party member. However, the audit was not carried out completely according to Marxist-Leninist organizational regulations. Through a series of errors, there still remained in the Party persons who did not deserve to be members while others were expelled unjustly.

After this, the number of Party members began to increase rapidly. Within one year this number increased more than three and a half times. On the one hand, this denoted the growth of the authority of the Party, on the other, it weakened its composition and militant spirit, for in admission to membership attention was paid only to the increase in numbers, and the question of quality was largely neglected. This once again brought entirely alien and even hostile persons into the Party. While for the admission of women, especially in the countryside, a sectarian attitude was maintained.

Hand in hand with efforts to normalize the organizational life of the Party, the Central Committee took steps to raise the theoretical level of the communists, which was quite low. This became more urgent because the Party organizations did not feel that the study of Marxist-Leninist theory was absolutely necessary. For this purpose theoretical courses and circles were opened and individual study was organized. Besides, agitation and propaganda among the masses of the people was extended using new forms and methods.

The Intensification of the Class Struggle

The intensification of the revolution encountered fierce resistance from the class enemies. The imperialists and the internal reaction, despite the defeat they had suffered in Albania, could not reconcile themselves either to the existence of the people's power, or to the revolutionary economic-social changes. After the failure of the objective they had hoped to achieve through the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the U.S. and British Governments drafted a new plan of measures against the PRA, relying on the close coordination of counter-revolutionary activity within and outside the country. This plan aimed at re-grouping and reorganizing all the remnants of the internal reactionary forces and at creating a tense situation in the country by launching these remnants into action. In such a situation events would be manipulated to furnish the imperialists with a pretext for armed intervention from abroad and to justify this intervention before international public opinion.

The imperialist propaganda launched a frenzied campaign against the order of people's democracy, appealing to the Albanian people to rise against it. In Greece and Italy U.S. and British agencies assembled in special camps fugitive fascists, Zogites and Ballists, and gave them intensive military and subversive training for the coming joint attack to be undertaken from abroad and from within the country against the «communists». British warships patrolled the territorial waters of the PRA in a demonstrative manner, firing shots time and again in the direction of the Albanian mainland.

Meanwhile the U.S. and British military missions to Albania set in motion the internal reaction. They organized several reactionaries, who had been elected as deputies in December 1945 in a separate group. These deputies began to declare themselves openly against socialist changes and attempted to create all sorts of obstacles to the adoption and enforcement of laws. The imperialist agency had assigned to them the task of gathering around themselves all the remnants of reaction within the country and of assuming the direction of the attack which was being prepared against the people's power. It had established links between the treacherous deputies and the chiefs of the «Balli kombëtar» and of the «Legality» in exile, as well as the Greek monarcho-fascists.

The U.S. mission, in particular, had undertaken the task of disrupting our economy by sabotage in the main branches of construction and production. Groups of saboteurs composed of corrupted bourgeois specialists operated under its direction in Maliq (where the swamp was being drained), on the construction sites of bridges, in the oil fields of Kuçova, in the copper mines of Rubik, and elsewhere.

In September 1946, counter-revolutionary bands launched an armed assault on the city of Shkodra. This attack had been calculated to serve as a starting point for military intervention from abroad. However it did not work out because the reactionary bands were annihilated within the day. Two months later, the imperialists organized a provocation of an international character against Albania. When a squadron of British warships was cruising along the Albanian coast-line with the aim of open provocation, two of them struck mines in the Corfu Channel and were damaged. As was revealed later, the British command itself had purposely organized this incident. Accusing the Democratic Government of Albania of allegedly placing these mines in the Corfu Channel, the U.S. and British Governments attempted to use the Corfu incident as a means to prepare public opinion to justify the landing of their military forces in Albania. Meanwhile, the Greek monarcho-fascist Government launched more frequent territorial and aerial provocations along the state boundaries with the PRA.

The intensification of the activity of the imperialists and of the internal reaction had increased the peril which threatened the people's revolution in Albania. By this time, however, the CPA and the working masses had acquired experience in the struggle with internal and external class enemies. The Party had trained the communists and workers to stand vigilant and always prepared to cope with any danger. «The group of deputies» and other enemies within the country found no support among the masses of the people. The terrorist actions and sabotage carried out by reactionary elements, as well as the Corfu Channel provocation, further increased the hatred of the people toward the traitors and the U.S. and British imperialists, raised the all-round preparedness of the Party, the armed forces and all the workers to defend the order of people's democracy, the national independence and territorial integrity of the Republic. Workers of cities and villages took part vigorously together with the organs of State Security and military detachments in detecting enemies and in exterminating them. The traitors and the saboteurs were brought before people's tribunals where they gave an account of their actions and were sentenced to the punishments they deserved. They were obliged to bring to light the entire plan hatched by the U.S. and British Governments against the PRA and to admit publicly their treason.

At the same time, the objective which the imperialists tried to reach through the Corfu Channel provocation was frustrated. Although they put into operation the international organizations, their obedient instruments, such as the Hague Tribunal, etc., they did not succeed in convincing international public opinion that Albania was really to blame for the Corfu incident. The Democratic Government of the People's Republic of Albania proved before the whole world that it had no hand whatsoever in that incident, and that the whole affair was a provocation organized by the British Government for hostile aims against the PRA. On this occasion, the entire progressive international public opinion upheld the just cause of the Democratic Government of Albania and condemned the attempts of the imperialists to lay the blame on the People's Republic of Albania.

The conviction of the Albanian people that the USA and Great Britain were not acting as allies, but as their arch-enemies, was strengthened likewise by the persistent efforts of the U.S. and British Governments to deny the PRA its lawful place in the United Nations Organization. They made use of their veto in the Security Council against the admission of Albania to this organization.

The U.S. and British imperialists also attempted by all means to hinder the participation of Albania in the Peace Conference which was held in Paris in July 1946, but they did not achieve their aim.

In order to voice the standpoint of the Albanian Government in connection with the Peace Treaty with Italy, a delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha went to Paris. The delegation demanded: Italy should be compelled to respect not only the sovereignty and independence of the Albanian State, as it was proposed in the draft treaty, but also its territorial integrity; the gold seized by the German invaders should be returned to Albania and reparations for war damage should be paid by Italy; the PRA should be considered as an associate power. These legitimate demands were rejected by the Peace Conference under the pressure of British and U.S. delegations but, through the persistence of the Democratic Government, the Albanian demands were approved by the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Allied Great Powers in November 1946.

The U.S.-British delegates tried likewise to compel the Peace Conference to discuss the territorial claims of Greece against Albania and to consider the latter as a «defeated state», but the clear-cut stand of the Albanian delegation caused this attempt to fail, too.

> «I solemnly declare,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha before he left for home, «that neither the Paris Conference, nor the Four Power Conference, nor any other conference whatsoever, can take up for discussion the boundaries of my country, within which not even an inch of foreign land is included. Our boundaries are indisputable and nobody will dare violate them. . . . Let the whole world know that the Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand that an account should be rendered to them by those who have caused them so much damage and against whom the Albanian people have fought so fiercely to the end».[1]

An important role in bringing about the success of the People's Republic of Albania in the international arena was played by the support given by friendly states, especially by the Soviet Union.

The CPA had drawn lessons of major importance from the experience gained in the struggle against reaction during the early years after liberation. The communists were convinced in practice and, at the same time, had convinced the working masses, that the revolution can be developed and socialism can be built only through

> **«a fierce and merciless struggle against internal enemies and their foreign imperialist supporters».[2]**

The Party was never carried away with the successes scored by the masses of the people under its leadership nor by the defeats suffered by the enemy. The Central Committee taught that

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Declaration Made to the Representatives of the Press in Paris, September 16, 1946. «Bashkimi», September 19, 1946.

[2] Instructions of the CC of the CPA, June 17, 1947. Principal Documents of the Party, Vol. I, p. 362.

«the enemy's work should be taken seriously, and this calls for constant revolutionary vigilance».[1]

Changes in the Economic and Social Structure and the First Results of the Socialist Development of Our Economy

The socialization of the principal means of production and the agrarian reform changed the economic and social structure of the country in favor of socialism. Our economy consisted now of three main forms: the socialist form, that of small-scale commodity production, and the capitalist form.

The socialist form included industry, mining, the power stations, transport and communications, the financial system, foreign trade, internal wholesale trade, the state and cooperative enterprises of retail trade, the state and cooperative agricultural economies, machine and tractor stations, the forests, waters, and subsoil resources. By the end of 1946 this form ruled the commanding positions of the economy and accounted for 95 per cent of overall industrial production.

Small-scale commodity production included the employment of most of the working people and represented about 80 per cent of the overall volume of production of the national economy. It comprised the economies of the poor and middle peasants and of the artisans who did not employ hired labor. All these people lived mainly on the income from their own toil.

The capitalist form comprised the economies of the kulaks in the countryside, the merchants and traders, and the small tradesmen and owners in the cities who employed hired labor. They accounted for about 5 per cent of the overall volume of production in the national economy. It was concentrated principally in the field of circulation. In 1947 private trade represented about 80 per cent of the total volume of commodities handled by retail trade.

These three forms of economy corresponded also with three social classes: the working class, the working peasantry and the bourgeoisie. The working class and peasantry had become the two principal classes of society. Having lost its political power and the main means of production, the bourgeoisie was turned into a secondary class, but in order to safeguard its own class interests it carried on a sharp struggle against the people's power and against the socialist construction of the country. In this struggle it had the backing of international imperialism.

Under the new economic and social conditions, for the solution of the tasks of socialist construction the Party took into consideration the fundamental circumstances which facilitated, as well as those which handicapped this construction.

The fundamental favorable circumstances were: the existence of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party at the head of the state power and the direction of the country; the sound militant union of the urban and rural working masses around the Party within the framework of the Democratic Front; the revolutionary tempering of these masses, acquired in the war against internal and external enemies; the experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism; Soviet moral, political and economic assistance and that of the countries of people's democracy, and the support of the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

The fundamental unfavorable circumstances were: the direct transition of Albania from semi-feudalism to socialism; the cultural and educational backwardness of the population, the lack of engineers, technicians and qualified workers; the scanty material and financial resources; the encirclement of the country by the imperialists and by those neighboring states which maintained a hostile attitude.

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[1] Ibid., p. 364.

Under these circumstances, in order to build socialism, our Party put forward as a primary task the speedy development of productive forces, by putting into operation and by using all the internal possibilities and resources. The achievement of this task comprised at the same time a decisive condition for the restriction and elimination of the capitalist element, the construction of the material base of socialism and the extension of socialist relations in production.

The changes in the economic and social structure of the country gave the Communist Party of Albania the opportunity to take concrete measures for the planned development of the economy and culture. The first plans, in 1947 and 1948, aimed at strengthening the socialist economy, by developing mining in the first place and the branches of light industry. In the field of agriculture, they envisaged extension of the area under cultivation, increased production of grains and the introduction of new industrial crops. In the field of culture, pre-eminence was given to the extension of education, the elimination of illiteracy and the training of specialists.

To cope with the tasks of the planned direction of the economy, the Party and the Government took a series of measures during 1947. State industrial enterprises were put on a self-supporting basis. This was a new method of planned management of the economic activity of enterprises, which required that they should cover all the expenses incurred for production with the revenues assured by the sale of their products and, at the same time, yield an amount for accumulation.

The passage of economic enterprises to this system was supplemented also by the organization of work on the basis of norms and by the new system of remunerating work done according to the socialist principle of quantity and of quality.

For the centralization of accumulation and distribution, a reorganization was carried out of the financial system, the budget, taxation, and the function of the banks. Instead of its almost administrative character, the budget was turned into the principal financial plan of the entire people's economy. Taxes, also, lost their fiscal character. The main form of budget income was defined as taxation on the turnover of economic enterprises and their surplus profits. The bank became the only centre of credit and accounting.

The rights and the duties of workers were specified in the new Law on Labor and Social Insurance of the Workers. This law also regulated the conclusion of collective contracts between the directorates of the enterprises and the workers, rates of pay, hours of work and rest. It especially protected the rights of teen-agers and of women as workers and as mothers. According to the new law each worker was entitled to social insurance benefits which were accorded by the state in cases of illness or of accidents at work, in old age, during pregnancy and at childbirth.

Assessing correctly the role of the cooperative sector in building the socialist economy, the Party attacked the distortions which constituted an open deviation from its economic line.

In the artisans' cooperatives an end was put to the distribution of all the profits among members without laying aside something for the expansion of production, to the trend toward speculation and the biggest possible profits, and the remuneration for work was established on a socialist basis.

The consumers' cooperatives were categorically prohibited from re-selling goods they had accumulated to private merchants, as had happened in certain cases. In order to encourage the consumers' cooperatives to accumulate larger quantities of agricultural products, an entire system of economic ties was established between them and the buying and selling cooperatives in the countryside.

The buying and selling cooperatives were charged not only with supplying the countryside with industrial goods but also with accumulating agricultural products for the regular supply of cities. This measure did away with intermediaries and private speculators, encouraged the organized exchange of rural products for those of cities and rendered them materially more profitable.

The adoption of these measures in the cooperative sector was of economic and political importance. It helped to put the cooperative movement on a correct and sound basis and to stop exploitation of their shortcomings by capitalist elements who opposed the economic line of the Party in building socialism.

Without underestimating the role and significance of cooperation in the field of circulation, the Party considered it merely as a first step, as a starting point to pass over to cooperation in the field of agricultural production. Accordingly, during the years 1947-1948 the work continued for setting up agricultural cooperatives of production on a voluntary basis.

To become modern and exemplary socialist economies, the first agricultural cooperatives were in need of an advanced material-technical base. For this purpose the first machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up in 1947.

From the very start the machine and tractor stations were created as state socialist enterprises in agriculture. They were employed as a special form of the great aid the state gave to the peasantry in an organized manner for the establishment and strengthening of the new cooperativist order in the countryside. The MTS's were the foundation stone of the new material-technical base of socialist agriculture. They were a powerful political and organizational medium. Through them the Party propagated and spread among the people in the countryside the necessity for and advantages of collectivization.

A great economic and political problem for the Party and the state power was that of providing food grains. In order to solve it, the people's power had been compelled to issue special ordinances, under which peasant farmers were obliged to sell to the state all their surplus grain, after deducting the necessary amount, fixed by law, for seed and for their families' food.

In this way the state succeeded in accumulating the necessary grain. The enforcement of the ordinances, however, encountered difficulties caused by the opposition of the peasant producers and by the endeavors of enemies to exploit this opposition to their advantage. On the other hand, this system of accumulation did not arouse in the peasant any interest or material inducement to increase the area under cultivation and agricultural production. For this reason, in 1948 modifications were made in the system of accumulation of grain. From then on each peasant economy was obliged to deliver to the state a fixed amount of grain at a standard price. The surplus grain, the peasant could keep for himself or sell to the state at a higher price than that of the compulsory quota. This system created a certain degree of material incentive for the peasant to increase agricultural production. But it did not solve the problem completely, because it was open to abuses, which led either to the obligatory accumulation of all the surplus production, or to leaving the producers with greater quantities of grain than those prescribed by the ordinances.

The frequent modifications of the procurement system during the years 1946-1948 were the consequences not only of the difficulties of providing food grains, but also of the lack of experience in finding the most appropriate forms of economic links between town and countryside.

During the years 1947-1948 the working masses exerted great efforts to fulfil the plans. During these two years new industrial projects were set up, the Tirana-Durrës-Peqin railway was constructed, and the productive capacities of mines were extended. In 1948 the total industrial output was twice as much as in 1938.

At this time agricultural production also surpassed the pre-war level. With the introduction of new industrial crops, slowly but definitely the old structure of agriculture began to change. The first steps were taken for the reclamation of swamps and drainage and irrigation of the land.

The economic and social changes of a democratic and socialist character which were carried out in Albania immediately after the liberation were rapid and far-reaching. This was so because they were carried out by the people's power which represented the dictatorship of the proletariat under the direct leadership of the Communist Party. The second reason was the broad social base of the socialist revolution. The activity of the Party and of the state power in the revolutionary change of the country was supported unwaveringly not only by the working class and the poor peasantry, but also by the middle peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities.

The thoroughgoing military and political defeat suffered by the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie in 1944 and the firm base of the people's power among the broad masses of the population did not permit the overthrown exploiting classes to turn their class struggle into a civil war despite the repeated efforts, especially of the U.S. and British imperialists. After the liberation these classes suffered another major defeat in the political and economic-social sphere.

5. THE COLLAPSE OF THE HOSTILE INTERVENTION OF THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS. THE DENUNCIATION OF THE ANTI-PARTY ACTIVITY OF KOÇI XOXE'S GROUP

The successes achieved during the early years after the liberation would have been still greater if it had not been for the blatant interference of the Yugoslav leadership in the internal affairs of the CPA and of the Albanian State. By its hostile activity it caused great damage to the building of socialism in Albania.

Based on the consistent internationalist policy of the CPA, which aimed at strengthening fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy, in July 1946 the Government of the PR of Albania concluded with the Yugoslav Government the Treaty of Cooperation and of Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the FPR of Yugoslavia. A few months later an economic convention also was signed.

The CPA regarded with confidence the alliance between the Albanian people and the Yugoslav peoples who had fought side by side and had shed their blood in the war against the same foe and for the same objectives. The Party considered the close cooperation and the mutual assistance between the PR of Albania and the FPR of Yugoslavia as an external factor of importance for the construction of socialism in Albania and for the protection of the national independence of the country from the enslaving intentions of the U.S. and British imperialists and of their henchmen, the Greek monarcho-fascists.

Nevertheless, the Secretary-General and the other comrades of the Central Committee viewed with concern the interference of Yugoslav representatives in the domestic affairs of the Party and the Albanian State. But they did not suspect as yet that this interference was being actuated on the instructions and with the approval of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia. While opposing on all occasions the meddling of Yugoslav diplomats and military men in Albanian State and Party internal affairs, they tried to remove any misunderstandings or obstacles in the relations between the two countries and the two parties.

However, these endeavors clashed with the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian stand of the Yugoslav leadership. Under the cover of this attitude, which the Yugoslav propaganda attempted to present as a policy of «disinterested fraternal aid», lay their intention to eliminate the independence of the CPA and the Albanian State.

The Resistance of the CPA Against Yugoslav Intervention

The agreements concluded on the basis of the economic convention were put into effect at the beginning of 1947. The first step foreseen by these agreements was the parity of currency. Right from the start, the Central Committee and the Albanian Government, on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, opposed this measure in principle because there were many obstacles which hindered reaching real parity. The level of economic development between the two countries, wages and the prices of commodities were not equal. It was impossible to bring them to parity within a short period of time. However, the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia described this opposition as out of place and interpreted it as an expression of distrust toward the spirit of the convention. After the pressure exerted by the CP of Yugoslavia, the *lek* was brought to parity with the *dinar* on an altogether arbitrary basis to the advantage of the *dinar*.

The second measure which was put into effect was the unification of prices. For this measure also the Party and the Albanian Government put forward their objections based on the fact that in industry, agriculture and other branches of material production of the two countries, the fundamental funds were of different structures. Labor productivity and the labor cost per unit of product were likewise different. The leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia described these factors as unimportant. As a result of the pressure exercised, an accord was reached to the effect that similar norms of accumulation were to be determined for commodities of both countries and that these commodities should be exchanged at domestic and not at international market prices.

The third measure was the customs union. The CPA made efforts that this union should serve to facilitate the exchange between the two countries. Meanwhile, the CP of Yugoslavia distorted the concept of the agreement and, after exerting pressure, succeeded in ensuring that all Yugoslav enterprises or private merchants should have the right to buy commodities, without any limitation, on the Albanian market, and that the *dinar* should be exchanged freely with the Albanian *lek*. Consequently, Yugoslav firms and private merchants took everything they found on the Albanian market. The resulting drain on the market created an extremely difficult situation for the economy and the workers of Albania. This was why the country was threatened with a new inflation and there was a general rise in prices on the free market.

A special commission was set up for the purpose of coordinating economic plans and the application of other economic agreements. The Yugoslav leadership demanded that this commission should enjoy such rights and functions as, in fact, would turn it into a super-government above the Albanian Government. These demands were rejected by the Central Committee of the CPA.

In the framework of economic agreements, joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were set up. They covered the most important branches of our people's economy. These companies were set up allegedly on the basis of equality. However, while the Albanian side, according to the agreements, paid its full quota to the fund of the joint companies, the Yugoslav side did not invest even a penny in the original funds. Thus the companies were kept running on the investments of the Albanian State alone, while the Yugoslav side appropriated half of the profits.

All these agreements infringed even the most elementary norms of relations between two sovereign states and inflicted heavy losses on the economy of the PRA.

According to the economic agreements, the Yugoslav Government had promised Albania a credit of 2 billion leks for the year 1947. Less than half this credit was made available, while those commodities which were supplied by Yugoslavia on credit were calculated at prices two to four times higher than international prices. The entire so-called Yugoslav aid consisted of four small, altogether out-of-date and long written-off factories. Besides this, the credit was employed as a means to exert pressure on our Party and Government and to arouse distrust in them as being allegedly incapable of directing the planned development of the economy. All this made it very difficult to fulfil the plan for 1947, which was drafted relying on the Yugoslav aid. The Yugoslav Government did not provide the PR of Albania with the credit promised for the year 1948, either.

In order to meet the needs of the plan, our government was forced to use all the reserves it had in raw materials, building materials and consumption goods. Since these were scarce, the economic and financial situation of the country deteriorated.

Hand in hand with its attempts to seize important positions in the economic domain, the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia extended its intervention with a view to getting hold of the Albanian army. Having secured a footing in the Political Directorate, it concentrated its attacks on the General Staff of the Army and its Chief Comrade Mehmet Shehu who defended the correct line of the Party and the independence of the People's Army. In military matters, too, its views and demands clashed with those of the sound part of the Central Committee of the Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In order to crush the resistance of the CC of the CPA, in June 1947 the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia sent it a provocative letter. In this letter, Tito, Secretary-General of the CP of Yugoslavia, openly attacked the Central Committee of the CPA, accusing it of distorting the Party line and claiming that «a second line in anti-Yugoslav spirit was crystallizing» in Albania. By means of this accusation the Yugoslav leadership intended to strengthen its weakened positions in the CPA and to give its agent Koçi Xoxe a weapon to combat and attack the Secretary-General and the other sound comrades of the leadership, whom it indirectly indicated as the main source of the distortion of the Party line.

The letter of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia was taken up for discussion in the Political Bureau. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo neither opposed the accusation of the Yugoslav leadership nor dared come out openly in its defense. The Political Bureau rejected it. It instructed Comrade Enver Hoxha to answer the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, describing the accusation as absolutely unfounded and as an open intervention in the internal affairs of the CPA.

After this the situation became more acute. The leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia increased its interference and pressure against the CPA. For this it created new pretexts.

At the beginning of 1947 the CC of the CPA issued directives to the state organs to begin the drafting of a two-year plan (1948-1949) of economic development. The Party took into account the actual state of affairs in Albania: the internal possibilities, the scale of studies which had been made and the experience which state organs had managed to acquire for drawing up a plan of not too long a term.

Without taking any account whatsoever of this situation, the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia demanded with persistence that Albania, too, should work out a prospective five-year plan, just as Yugoslavia was doing. And not only that, but it even recommended to the Albanian Government the orientation for this plan, dealing with Albania as if it were a Yugoslav republic. According to this orientation, the economy of the PRA should not be developed independently, but should be integrated with the economy of Yugoslavia. Albania should not create and develop its own national industry, but should confine itself only to the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials, which would be processed in Yugoslavia. In exchange, Albania would receive from Yugoslavia the necessary industrial commodities. This orientation aimed at subjugating and exploiting the Albanian economy and at reducing it to an appendage of the Yugoslav economy.

The Central Committee of the CPA immediately rejected this orientation. It agreed to the drafting of a five-year plan, but it instructed the government that the

plan should aim at creating and developing our national industry, the electrification of the country, the development of agriculture on socialist lines, and that this plan should rely mainly on the internal resources as well as on the aid of the Soviet Union and of the countries of people's democracy.

The Party took concrete steps to strengthen and extend the political and economic relations of the PR of Albania with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. But these steps encountered the opposition of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia which aimed at keeping Albania isolated from the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

In July 1947, a delegation of the Albanian Government went to Moscow to confer with the Soviet Government. The delegation was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a result of these talks, the Soviet Union accorded the PR of Albania a credit for the equipment of agriculture with tractors and other agricultural machinery and also for the construction of several important industrial works.

Using as an excuse the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid, the Yugoslav leadership attempted to hinder the conclusion of the agreement with the Soviet Union. It went so far as to have the Yugoslav representative in Moscow demand that the Albanian representative should hand to him copies of this agreement, asserting in a threatening manner that nothing should be concluded without the approval of the Yugoslav Government. The Albanian Government protested against this new intrusion in its internal affairs.

The correct orientation which the CC of the Party gave the government for the drafting of the plan and the visit of the Albanian delegation to Moscow were used by Tito as a pretext for formulating the second accusation against the CPA. In November 1947, he accused the Albanian

Government of having allegedly drafted an autarchic, unrealistic five-year plan, which separated the economy of Albania from the economy of Yugoslavia. Indirectly he condemned the acceptance of direct material and moral assistance from the USSR, and openly accused Comrade Enver Hoxha of having altered his policy toward Yugoslavia after his return from Moscow. The orientation toward the Soviet Union he described as anti-Yugoslav. The Communist Party of Albania was charged with the crime of having allegedly allowed the creation of an anti-Yugoslav front in Albania; of wrecking the relations between the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples. Finally, Comrade Nako Spiru in particular was accused of being a collaborator with the enemy!

These further accusations dealt another very hard blow at the CPA. They profoundly upset the leadership of the Party and aggravated to the extreme the tense state which had been created in the Political Bureau. These accusations placed in the hands of the Koçi Xoxe faction the dynamite with which to blow up the very foundations of the Party. And, in fact, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Kristo Themelko[1] became most ardent defenders of the Yugoslav theses. Koçi Xoxe did not invite a number of the members of the Political Bureau to the session which discussed these accusations, with the aim of depriving Comrade Enver Hoxha of all backing and support.

Besides this, instead of disclosing the reasons for the Yugoslav leadership's intervention and rejecting its false accusations, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo supported them and put all the stress on Nako Spiru's «treason». This was a manoeuvre aimed at hiding the heavy blow which was being dealt at the CPA and at its Secretary-General by the Yugoslav leadership, as well as its objective.

When the situation grew very acute and the circumstances became very difficult for him, Comrade Nako Spiru was unable to face them as a communist should, and committed suicide.

In order to strengthen relations with the countries which had embarked on the road to socialism, a government delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha went to Sofia in December 1947, where the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the PR of Bulgaria was signed.

The leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia attempted to obstruct the conclusion of this treaty. Through Koçi Xoxe, who was a member of the Albanian delegation, it tried to have the treaty framed in such a way that any common action of Albania with Bulgaria should have the prior approval of Yugoslavia. This persistent demand by Koçi Xoxe was rejected. Since it was impossible to impede the conclusion of the treaty or alter its sound spirit, the Yugoslav leadership exerted every effort to diminish its importance.

Pronouncing itself in favor of strengthening its relations with the sister communist parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the October 1947 Plenum of the CC of the CPA adopted in full the Declaration and the Resolution of the Warsaw Consultative Meeting of a number of communist and workers' parties, which was held at the end of September 1947, and approved the creation of the Information Bureau, which arose from the Warsaw Consultative Meeting. The CPA expressed its readiness to exchange experiences and, in case of need, to coordinate its actions with sister communist and workers' parties. At the proper time, the

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[1] Kristo Themelko acknowledged his faults and made self-criticism before the Party after the treachery of the CP of Yugoslavia had been entirely disclosed in June 1948.

Central Committee would seek membership for the CPA in the Information Bureau.

Exposure of the Anti-Marxist and Anti-Albanian Schemes of the Yugoslav Leadership

Nako Spiru's suicide seriously damaged the Party and further aggravated the already tense situation which had been created in the Party leadership. This gave an advantage to the Yugoslav revisionist clique to make use of this event as «a proof of the truth» of its accusations and to undertake a new assault on the line of the CPA, on its unity and on the Secretary-General.

Under these conditions, Koçi Xoxe, with the direct help of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia and masquerading as the «savior» of the Party, prepared the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. The anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian theses of the CC of the CP of Yugoslavia, which had been expressed in programmatic form in a speech delivered by Koçi Xoxe at the Party School, served as the platform for this plenum. During preparations for the plenum, Koçi Xoxe stepped up the persecution of sound and tested cadres of the Party who defended its correct line and launched a campaign of disparagement against communist intellectuals. Through the State Security organs, which were under his direction, he collected and trumped up data against leading Party cadres who were undesirable for him and who were to be denounced at the 8th Plenum.

Precisely at this time, the Yugoslav leadership, through Savo Zlatich, its representative in the People's Republic of Albania, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA its plan for the «union of Albania with Yugoslavia on a federative basis». «The other peoples of the Balkans and, particularly, Bulgaria» were also to be included in the federation. According to this plan, at first the federation would be concretized in the «economic relations» by «fusing the national economies» and by «drawing up common plans». «The union of armies in a single army» would also be carried out. Eventually «the creation of a single state» which would be allegedly the «will of peoples and parties»[1] would be examined. Koçi Xoxe's group made the theses of this scheme the basis of the preparations for the coming plenum.

The hostile activity of the Titoites and of their agents headed by Koçi Xoxe reached its culmination at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA which was convened in February 1948.

In fact Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo charged Comrade Enver Hoxha as the principal person to blame for the allegedly mistaken road the Party had taken. Nako Spiru was declared an enemy of the Party and of the people and was stigmatized as a spy. Comrade Mehmet Shehu, who was arbitrarily prevented from taking part in the plenum, was accused of «inimical» anti-Yugoslav activity and was excluded from the Central Committee. Koçi Xoxe concocted the so-called faction at the head of the Party which operated «under the nose of the Secretary-General»! He even let it be understood that Comrade Enver Hoxha in person stood at the head of the faction. This was a serious blow at his position and at the unity of the Party.

The plenum agreed to such forms of economic ties between Albania and Yugoslavia which would have led to the elimination of the Albanian Government. The concept of the unification of the Albanian Army with that of Yugoslavia was launched. Open attempts were made to divide Albania from the Soviet Union, and anti-Soviet tendencies were manifested.

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[1] The theses of Savo Zlatich on the union of Albania with Yugoslavia, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA, December 5, 1947. Notes on talks. Central Archives of the Party.

The 8th Plenum deepened still more the blunders in the structure and inner life of the Party. The organizational methods of the Party leadership were replaced to a greater degree by military-police methods.

At this plenum the resistance of the CC of the CPA in defense of the Party line was broken by the pressure of the Yugoslav leadership. The plenum adopted Tito's accusations put forward in November 1947. The correct political and economic line of the Party was seriously violated. Independence and national sovereignty were directly endangered. The 8th Plenum prepared the ground for the implementation of the Yugoslav plan for the colonization of Albania. This plenum is a black stain on the glorious history of the CPA.

Following the plenum, Koçi Xoxe's group set to work with all their might to put the Yugoslav scheme into effect. They stepped up their preparations aimed at discrediting and even at the physical elimination of those leading cadres of the Party and state who opposed the intervention and pressure of the Yugoslav revisionists.

The direction and activity of mass organizations took a distorted road. Tendencies were manifested to dismantle the youth organization. A series of functions were withdrawn from the trade unions, and they were turned into an altogether bureaucratic apparatus.

Police methods were introduced in the state apparatus. The State Security organs were placed above the Party.

Thinking that they had by now fully subjugated the CPA, the Titoites intervened in the internal affairs of the Party and of the Albanian State in a more brutal and flagrant manner. The commission for the coordination of plans was changed into almost a second government. The joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were turning simply

into Yugoslav enterprises. A special control commission came from Yugoslavia with the task of helping to integrate the Albanian economy with that of Yugoslavia, which would serve as a basis for the political union of the two countries. Meanwhile Koçi Xoxe's group launched a broad propaganda campaign for «union and fraternization» with Yugoslavia with the aim of presenting this union as an act allegedly carried out by the will of the Albanian people.

The Yugoslav leadership and Koçi Xoxe's faction persistently demanded from the CC of the Party and the government that the Soviet advisers be withdrawn from the army. Finally, they raised at the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA the question of the unification of the supreme command of Albanian and Yugoslav armies with Tito at the head, and demanded the approval of the plan for the union of Albania with Yugoslavia. Despite the grave situation which had been created in the Political Bureau and the extraordinary pressure from the Titoites and their supporters, after Comrade Enver Hoxha's resolute and principled resistance these anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian demands were not adopted.

The Yugoslav leadership, feeling that its intentions might soon be disclosed and taking into consideration the resistance put up by the CPA, endeavored to reach these aims by means of intimidation. It fabricated as pretext the danger to Albania from an imminent attack by Greece and sought to dispatch urgently several divisions of the Yugoslav army to Albania. In this manner the military occupation of Albania would become a 'fait accompli'. This would permit Titoites to overcome the resistance they would encounter in the annexation of Albania. Koçi Xoxe and his group supported this demand. Koçi Xoxe and Rankovich, one of Tito's closest collaborators, had even prepared a project to publicize the arrival of Yugoslav troops, after they had been established on Albanian soil, as an act carried out on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid!

However, this Yugoslav scheme, too, fell short of materializing. Comrade Enver Hoxha raised this question at the Central Committee. On his proposal it was decided not to accept the stationing of Yugoslav divisions in Albania. This historic decision saved the country from the bloodshed which would have been caused by the entry of Yugoslav troops and from a new enslavement.

Comrade Enver Hoxha informed J. V. Stalin about the demand of the Yugoslav leadership to send some divisions to Albania and the refusal of this demand by the Central Committee of the CPA, as he had previously informed him of the other serious interference by Tito and various Yugoslav functionaries in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Albania and the Albanian State.

The Party and the state were passing through exceptionally difficult moments. Precisely at this time, the CPA was informed of the letters which the CC of the CPSU(B) had sent to the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia.

In these letters the Yugoslav leadership was severely criticized for its anti-Soviet attitude, for following an opportunist line which led to the re-establishment of capitalism, for violations of the Leninist norms in the inner life of the party, and for the arrogance and conceit of the leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia.

> «Such an abnormal state within the Yugoslav Communist Party constitutes a serious danger for the life and the development of the party».[1]

The letters were of major significance to the CPA and to the Albanian people.

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[1] Letter of the CC of the CPSU(B) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, May 4, 1948. Central Archives of the Party.

> «At the most critical moment of the fierce conflict which existed between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania and the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a conflict caused by the anti-Marxist Yugoslav leadership, the help of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, which was extended to our Party and to all other sister communist parties, was the great salvation of our people, of our Communist Party».[1]

In the light of these letters, the character and the aims of the Yugoslav intervention in Albania now became quite clear to the CC of our Party.

A contribution of major importance to the unmasking of the revisionist and chauvinistic activity of the leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia was made by the meeting of the Information Bureau which was held in June 1948. The Information Bureau reached the correct conclusion that the leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia had departed from Marxism-Leninism and had taken the road of revisionism, had betrayed socialism and passed over to the positions of bourgeois nationalism. Starting from this state of affairs, it condemned the CP of Yugoslavia leaders as traitors to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC of the CPA gave full approval to the resolution of the Information Bureau «On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party». In a special communique it condemned the treacherous, anti-Soviet and anti-Albanian course taken by the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia.

This stand of the Central Committee was approved by the entire Party. At their meetings all the Party organizations expressed their unshakable trust in the Central Committee and in Secretary-General Comrade Enver Hoxha.

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[1] Communique of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, July 1, 1948. Central Archives of the Party.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. Defeat of Yugoslav Intervention and Koçi Xoxe's Hostile Activity

Following the exposure of the inimical intentions of the Yugoslav revisionists, the economic and political relations between Albania and Yugoslavia had to be purged of any spirit or content of exploitation and subjugation. For this purpose the CPA demanded that, with the exception of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid, all the other agreements should be revised. However, the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this just demand. This being the case, the Albanian Government was obliged to abrogate the economic agreements concluded between the PR of Albania and the FPR of Yugoslavia.

To completely eliminate the Yugoslav intervention and the distortions in the political and organizational line of the Party, the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was held in September 1948. This session was attended also by those members and candidate members who had been unjustly excluded from the 8th Plenum.

The 11th Plenum thoroughly analysed the political line of the Party and its activity, disclosed the causes of blunders and determined the measures to effect a turn dictated by the new historic circumstances.

The plenum considered that the political line which the Party had pursued since its foundation had been correct. The particular distortions which had appeared after the liberation were consequences of the Yugoslav intervention. This intervention and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity caused the organizational line of the Party in the post-war period to take a generally incorrect course.

The principal decisions of the 2nd Plenum and all the decisions of the 8th Plenum were described as anti-Marxist, harmful and, as such, were denounced and invalidated.

The plenum discussed in detail the relations of the Party and the Albanian State with the Yugoslav Party and State. It condemned severely the national-chauvinist and colonialist intentions of the Yugoslav revisionists toward the PR of Albania. On the other hand, the Central Committee made self-criticism for the excessive trust it had placed in the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia.

The plenum regarded as incorrect that the Party remained in a semi-illegal state even after it had become the leading party in power. The fact that the Party program was hidden under the program of the Democratic Front, that Party members preserved the secrecy of their membership, and that the directions of the CPA were published as decisions of the Democratic Front, were all considered as serious errors. These forms borrowed from the CP of Yugoslavia weakened the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country and led toward its elimination.

The lack of a Party constitution, which had allowed the arbitrary introduction into the Party of the anti-Marxist forms and methods of the Yugoslav leadership, was regarded as harmful, and therefore the need for the preparation of this fundamental document was stressed.

The 11th Plenum charged Koçi Xoxe with grave responsibility for the unreserved support he had given the Titoites and for the distortions in the organizational line of the Party. Holding simultaneously the functions of organizational secretary of the Party and minister of internal affairs, Koçi Xoxe employed his position to put the Party under the control of the State Security organs, to apply police methods in the Party. This had brought about the serious violation of democratic centralization and the stifling of principled criticism and self-criticism.

The leading organs of the Party were not elected, but appointed from above. They did not regularly render account to the masses of communists. The membership lacked control over the leading organs. In many cases, the rights of Party members were trodden underfoot. Discipline was mechanical rather than conscious. The collective spirit in the Party leadership had been replaced with individual orders and instructions.

There were serious shortcomings and errors in the practice of the cadres. Sectarianism, localism and personal friendship predominated. The cadres were not appreciated as the Party's invaluable treasure. The work to educate and raise their capacity was almost entirely neglected. All the old and capable cadres of authority had been gathered in the centre, whereas the local Party and state organs had been greatly weakened.

This grave situation within the Party had left pronounced traces throughout the entire life of the country. As minister of internal affairs, Koçi Xoxe had allowed serious violations of socialist legality and of the democratic rights of the workers. The organs of internal affairs, especially of the State Security, were turned into all powerful organs, which were not subject to any control. Through their arbitrary and harmful actions, these organs were becoming separated from the people.

In various cases, erroneous political attitudes had been maintained by the Party and organs of state power toward the patriotic petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. Drastic economic measures against small merchants which led to their premature elimination had been taken through administrative acts. Patriots from the ranks of the middle strata of cities and villages, who had fought for the liberation under the leadership of the Party, had been unjustly declared enemies. On account of the inimical

activities of individual intellectual elements, a broad circle of intellectuals had been arbitrarily persecuted.

All these were errors fraught with very serious repercussions which created a feeling of insecurity among the masses of the people and were weakening the bonds of the Party with the masses and with the Democratic Front.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA put an end to all these distortions and mistakes in the political and organizational line of the Party.

It rehabilitated Comrade Nako Spiru as a militant of the Party and took punitive measures against Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and several other participants of the factionist group. It was decided that all those who had been promoted to leading posts in the Party or state power in the spirit of the 8th Plenum should return to the positions they had occupied before, whereas all those who had been unjustly punished were rehabilitated and returned to their former posts. Those who had been expelled contrary to Party rules were re-admitted into its ranks.

The 11th Plenum re-affirmed the unshakable determination of the Party to follow the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the Bolshevik Party led by J. V. Stalin, which stood at the head of the socialist camp and of the entire workers' revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist movement in the world. The Party stressed that it was a duty to study the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to apply it in a creative manner under the conditions of Albania.

The Party organizations were charged with the task of carrying out large-scale propaganda work in order to make it clear to the working masses that the chief enemies of the PRA and of all humanity were the U.S. and British imperialists, to explain to them the treachery of the

Yugoslav revisionist leadership headed by Tito, to Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp, as well as its hostile activity against the CPA and the PR of Albania.

In order to build socialism with success, the Party was charged with the task of mobilizing the masses for the fulfilment of the state plan, for strengthening the economy of the country and for raising the standard of living of workers, for consolidating the alliance of the working class with the poor peasantry and for eliminating the exploiting classes.

To enable the Party to accomplish its historic mission, it was indispensable that political and ideological training should be organized on a more solid basis

> «. . . to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen communist consciousness . . . , to learn the laws of economic and social development».[1]

The Political Bureau was charged with the task of

> «organizing the scientific study of the reality of our country from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint in order to enlighten the Party better on the situation and development of the class struggle in our country, on the repositioning of the class forces and on the concrete conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism».[2]

The 11th Plenum decided to recommence publishing «Zëri i Popullit» (= «People's Voice»), organ of the CC of the Party.

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[1] Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. I, p. 397.

[2] Ibid.

In order to normalize the life of the CPA it was decided to legalize it at once, to call its 1st Congress and to apply Marxist-Leninist principles in organizational matters.

The 11th Plenum marked the beginning of a sharp turn in the life of the Party and in the destiny of the country. It re-established the unity in leadership and immeasurably raised the authority of the Party. The decisions of the 11th Plenum which, for the first time, were published in the press, aroused and put in motion all the Party organizations, stimulated the initiative and the daring of communists and enhanced their belief in their own forces.

The occasional mistakes and vacillations, which became apparent as a natural sequel of the passage of the Party from a serious situation to a new situation of revolutionary upsurge, were averted by the intervention of the Central Committee.

During the discussion in the Party on the resolution of the 11th Plenum many facts and documents were disclosed, which threw new light on the inimical activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and which added to the culpability of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and their close collaborators. And yet in the self-criticism which Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo made before the Party activists in Tirana and in Korça, instead of disclosing the real origin and causes of their errors and, in this manner, helping all the Party organizations to correct the shortcomings, they attempted to deceive the Party. This showed that they were not repentant for the course they had taken and for the great damage they had done to the cause of the Party and the Albanian people. In the light of new facts, their responsibility before the Party and the people required another evaluation.

Various measures were taken to eliminate the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists on the socialist sector of the economy and on the front of the class struggle. The old law on the taxes on agricultural economies, which supported the well-to-do peasants (the kulaks) and permitted their enrichment, was amended. The new law assisted the poor peasantry and limited the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside. Other laws to regulate and step up the economic development of the countryside along socialist lines were enacted.

A new constitution for the agricultural cooperative was drawn up eliminating the elements of capitalist cooperation borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists, which were embodied in the old constitution. This new constitution abolished the system of distributing incomes on the basis of the amount of acreage and introduced remuneration on the basis of work done. The number of livestock and the area of personal plots of land of the cooperative members were limited. The concern of the state for the good organization and running of agricultural cooperatives was augmented, thus putting an end to the erroneous view that the state organs should not interfere in directing the affairs of agricultural cooperatives, which are organizations of the masses.

At this time all the attention of the Party and the workers was concentrated on the preparations for the 1st Congress of the CPA. The creative work of the masses assumed a major impulse in order to greet the 1st Congress of the CPA with the economic plan fulfilled. The revolutionary enthusiasm which had gripped all the people greatly assisted the Party in its preparations for the congress on a high level.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY TO TURN ALBANIA FROM A BACKWARD AGRARIAN COUNTRY INTO AN AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL ONE

(1948-1955)

1. THE 1ST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA — A HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND OF THE COUNTRY

The 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania was held in Tirana from the 8th to 22nd of November 1948 with the participation of 563 delegates with deliberative and 299 delegates with consultative vote, representing 29,137 members and 16,245 candidate members.

The Report on the Activity of the Central Committee was delivered by Secretary-General Comrade Enver Hoxha. In it he analysed the entire activity of the Party since its founding, assessed the successes attained and the stages through which the Party and the country had passed, and made a wide-ranging exposure of the circumstances and causes of the errors which had been proven in the course of the application of the Party line. The policy of the Party for the coming period was clearly laid down in this report. The Party spirit running through it and the principled stand taken toward the fundamental problems of the Party guided the delegates correctly and determined the success of the proceeding of the 1st Congress.

The Fundamental Directions for the Construction of the Socialist Base

The 1st Congress laid great stress on the need to carry through to the end the struggle against the distortions in our political line that had resulted from the hostile Yugoslav interference, and defined the main directions for the construction of the socialist base.

Its fundamental economic objective was to raise the country from its profound backwardness through a vigorous development of the forces of production.

The essence of this task was the socialist industrialization and the electrification of the country. The absolute necessity for industrialization was dictated by the need to create an entirely new material-technical base for the people's economy, to extend production of goods within the country, to prepare the conditions for the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis, to increase the roll-call of the working class so as to strengthen its leading position and, finally, by the need to preserve the gains of the revolution and ensure the construction of socialism.

Socialist industrialization had to be carried out at a rapid rate, within the shortest possible time, so as to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, to ensure the independent development of economy and to achieve an appreciable rise in the material and cultural level of the working masses. The attainment of this objective rested, in the first place, on a thorough exploitation of the resources of the soil and subsoil, by improving

and reorganizing the existing industry and by setting up a series of new industrial projects and branches.

Besides the socialist industrialization the 1st Congress attached great importance to the development of agriculture and to lifting it out of its state of backwardness. The only way to attain this objective fully was the socialist reorganization of the countryside. After criticizing the errors committed on the question of collectivization, the Party was instructed to orientate itself

> «toward strengthening the socialist sector of agriculture (the state farms) and toward the gradual, cautious and voluntary collectivization of the rural areas through agricultural labor cooperatives, with the political, economic and organizational support of the state».[1]

Since the conditions for extensive collectivization were not yet ripe, the Party embodied its policy in this field in the slogan «as to collectivization, neither rush it nor mark time».

The individual farms, which made up the major part of the agricultural economies, were at a low state of development; therefore it was judged necessary to give all-round aid to the individual laboring peasants so that agricultural production would be increased.

At the same time, the congress instructed that the danger of capitalist development in the countryside in conditions of the predominance of individual farms should not be lost sight of, even for a moment. It issued instructions that a policy of economic restriction and political isolation of the capitalist elements in the rural areas should be applied.

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[1] Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Tirana, 1960, Vol. I, p. 454.

In carrying out this policy in the countryside, the Party was to be led by the Leninist slogan: «Reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the medium peasant, struggle against the kulak».

The development of the country along socialist lines demanded the continuation of the struggle to eliminate its cultural backwardness, to intensify the cultural and ideological revolution. In this connection, all possible measures were to be taken for the application and extension of compulsory education, especially of secondary vocational education, for the development of higher education and for training higher cadres at home and abroad.

After criticizing the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists and of the Koçi Xoxe group to introduce into the sphere of education, art and culture the spirit of negating the cultural traditions and values of the Albanian people, the congress laid down the main directions which were to comprise in essence the development of the cultural revolution in this field. Education and culture should belong to the people and serve the broad masses of the working people. National values were to be preserved and endowed with profound socialist content. In education, art and culture the Party was to fight against the influence of bourgeois ideology and rely strongly on Marxist-Leninist science.

The directions and tasks laid down by the 1st Congress put an end to the distortions observed in the practice of socialist construction; they completed, crystallized and developed the Party program for the construction of the bases of socialism. They found their concrete expression in the long-term plans for the economic and cultural development of the country.

The 1st Congress considered and approved the directives of the two-year plan for the economic and cultural development of the country for the period 1949-1950, during which the ground was to be prepared for passing to the stage of developing our economy with longer term plans.

Primary importance in the two-year plan was given to the development of industry. Forty-seven per cent of all the investment funds for that period were allocated to it. Priority was given to increasing mineral production and, in particular, petroleum and bitumen. The development of light industry occupied second place. The two-year plan envisaged the construction of the «Stalin» Textile Plant, the Maliq Sugar Refinery, the Selita Hydropower Plant and a series of other projects. The further development and cooperation of the handicraftsmen was to play a special role also in overcoming the difficulties of supplying the population with industrial goods.

In the sphere of agriculture the increase of agricultural products was envisaged through the extension of the sown area, increasing yields, extending the irrigation and drainage network, agricultural mechanization, etc.

The Further Strengthening and Democratization of the People's State Power

For the purpose of building the bases of socialism, the 1st Congress pointed out the imperative need to further strengthen and democratize the regime, to strengthen the People's Army and the State Security.

The administrative division of the state power into district and municipal councils, the former concerned mainly with problems of rural areas and the latter with those of towns and cities, was considered wrong in principle. This administrative measure, borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists, had brought about the artificial segregation of the urban from the rural workers. In order to eliminate this weakness, instructions were issued for the immediate amalgamation of district councils with those of towns and cities so that local organs of state power would take up all the problems of political and economic life of the district.

The dualism between the state and the Party was criticized and so was the abnormal situation created as a consequence of this dualism which had brought about the undervaluation and weakening of the role of the organs of state power, increased bureaucracy and delay in solving problems. The people's councils and their executive apparatuses were to use all the prerogatives with which they were invested by law, with the purpose of enhancing their role.

The hostile activity carried on uninterruptedly by the imperialists and their servants against the People's Republic of Albania with the aim of destroying it, obliged the Party and the Albanian people to be constantly vigilant and to unceasingly increase the defensive potential of the Fatherland. This duty assumed still greater importance from the fact that Albania was building socialism encircled by hostile states.

The 1st Congress directed that measures should be taken for the all-round strengthening of the People's Army, for raising its fighting capacity and readiness and for its further modernization. It instructed that the military and political training of the army proceed according to programs compiled on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, the experience of the Albanian National-liberation Army, and Soviet military science in conformity with the conditions of the country.

One of the most difficult tasks of the Party at this time was to eliminate the mistakes in the organs of State Security, their re-orientation on the right path and the further strengthening of these organs which, in the years gone by, had been affected more than any other sector by the Yugoslav interference and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity. The 1st Congress approved all the measures that the Party had taken following the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee for the liquidation of the police methods in the State Security organs and for purging from them persons who had committed grave offenses. It especially emphasized that the work of the State Security must be carried out under the direct guidance and control of the Party and that socialist legality must be defended.

At the same time the 1st Congress issued instructions that the analysis of the errors in the State Security be made in the Party spirit. The State Security had rendered invaluable service in defense of the victories of the revolution. The condemnation of mistakes should in no way be turned into an attack against the vital need for the State Security nor take the form of a general condemnation of the State Security men. Those who had erred would be helped by the Party to correct their mistakes. The congress warned that the class enemy would try to take advantage of the situation created following the exposure of the Tito clique and Koçi Xoxe's group by directing its blows mainly against the organs of the State Security.

> «The Party should work to strengthen the State Security as much as possible, because this is the precious weapon of the people's power. Directed by the Party, it protects the Party and the state from the hostile activity of foreign and internal enemies».[1]

To lay down a correct internal policy it was necessary also to pursue a correct, principled, foreign policy.

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[1] Ibid., p. 456.

The congress condemned the actions of the Yugoslav revisionists aimed at isolating Albania completely from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as the attempts of Koçi Xoxe's anti-Party group to follow blindly the nationalist and anti-Soviet policy of the Yugoslav leadership. It mapped out a Marxist-Leninist foreign policy which emanated from the very nature of the socialist state and responded to the interests of the people and the Fatherland. This policy was inspired, first and foremost, by friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, by the need to assist the struggle of the various peoples against imperialism in order to safeguard and ensure their national independence, by the efforts for the preservation of peace and the establishment of good neighborly relations.

The Constitution of the Party of Labor of Albania

A correct political line could be applied only if all the organizational distortions were done away with and a Marxist-Leninist organizational line elaborated. The re-establishment of Marxist-Leninist norms was to complete the marking of a turning point in the Party.

The 1st Congress decided to change the name of the Party from the Communist Party of Albania to the **Party of Labor of Albania (PLA).** This change was dictated by the social composition of the country and the Party and did not damage its character or aims. In Albania the bulk of the population (about 80 per cent) was composed of peasants. This was reflected in the Party, too, where the overwhelming majority of its members were toilers of the soil. The PLA was to be the continuation of the Communist Party.

The norms and rules on which the inner life of the Party was constructed were embodied in the Constitution of the Party of Labor of Albania adopted by the congress.

The aims of the Party: the immediate aim — the construction of socialism — and the ultimate aim — the construction of communism — were formulated in general lines in the preamble of the Constitution.

The Constitution emphasized the leading role of the Party both in the people's state power and in the entire political, economic and cultural life of the country.

The structure and the whole inner life of the Party was based on democratic centralism. The application of this fundamental principle during the National-liberation War had been limited by the circumstances. After the liberation of the country, it was seriously violated through the intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists and by the activity of Koçi Xoxe's group. The congress instructed that this principle should «be applied and preserved by us as the apple of our eye».[1]

The Constitution guaranteed the organizational and ideological unity of the Party which it described as an indispensable condition for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the working masses around the Party, enabling it to fulfil its aims.

This fundamental document formulated, for the first time, the duties of the Party member as the vanguard fighter for the socialist construction of the country, for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people in the Democratic Front, and for the defense of the People's Republic of Albania. It especially emphasized the duty of the communist to be «exemplary in behavior and morality» as well as the duty to maintain and continuously strengthen his links with the masses, to be outstanding as a leader of the masses.

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[1] Ibid., p. 459.

The Constitution defined the rules for admission to membership of the Party on the basis of the social conditions of the country during the period of transition to socialism. A person who exploited the labor of others could not be admitted to membership in the Party. For the admission of working people to membership there was established a graduated scale of prerequisites according to their social origin and status, giving precedence to workers and poor peasants.

The adoption of the Constitution was a great event in the life of the Party, which, for seven years on end, had regulated its inner life solely on the basis of resolutions, circulars and instructions.

The Constitution was a sound guarantee to prevent any future violations of the Leninist norms of the inner life of the Party. The congress laid down the task

> «of fighting against all manifestations aimed at damaging the organizational rules and principles of the Party defined in its Constitution».[1]

At the same time the congress decided to intensify the Party's ideological work. Instructions were given and concrete measures were set out for the study of Marxism-Leninism and the History of the Party through forms of education in the Party, through various courses of the Party School and through individual study.

The congress expelled Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo from its ranks as Trotskyites, enemies of the Party and people and agents of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders.

It elected the Central Committee of the Party, composed of 21 members and 10 candidates to membership. Enver Hoxha, Mehmet Shehu, Hysni Kapo, Beqir Balluku, Gogo Nushi, Spiro Koleka and others were elected to the Political Bureau. Enver Hoxha was re-elected as Secretary-General of the Party.

The proceedings of the 1st Congress were conducted on a high level, in a healthy spirit of criticism and self-criticism. The broad and lively participation in the discussion of the problems on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles contributed to the correct solution of the fundamental problems of the policy and inner life of the Party.

While condemning the intervention of the Yugoslav revisionists and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity, the congress did not permit itself to swing to the other extreme. It described as extremely harmful and condemned the attempts made by Gjin Marku to give an entirely distorted direction to the proceedings of the congress. Speculating on the struggle that the Party had declared on Trotskyism and revisionism, Gjin Marku attempted to have the entire political line, which the Party had pursued in the past, rejected, accusing all the principal leading cadres of the Party of being infected with Trotskyism and demanding that they should be placed on the same footing as Koçi Xoxe and punished severely. In this way he aimed at changing the leadership of the Party, at taking up the banner of «the savior» and emerging at the head of the Party. A few others who had committed grave offenses against the Party also behaved in the same way in order to cover up their personal responsibility and emerge free of blame. In his contribution to the discussions Comrade Enver Hoxha helped the delegates to expose the real intentions of Gjin Marku and of the other unhealthy elements, to avoid any confusion and to preserve to the end the revolutionary and principled spirit of the proceedings of the congress.

The congress of the CPA further deepened and formally sanctioned the change effected by the 11th

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[1] Ibid., p. 463.

Plenum of the Central Committee in the inner life of the Party and the country. It provided the Party with a correct Marxist-Leninist general line and armed the working people with a scientific program for the construction of the basis of socialism.

The congress marked the crowning of the victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and Trotskyism and armed the Party with a great experience in the struggle against modern revisionism.

It strengthened the unity of the Party and its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

The congress foresaw also the great economic and political difficulties that the Party would encounter in the fulfilment of the tasks laid down. It prepared the Party to face these obstacles and to overcome them with success.

The materials of the congress were taken up with the entire people. The working masses embraced the line of the Party in its entirety, they criticized courageously the errors committed in the past, expressed their loyalty toward the Party and their determination to apply its program.

A new and healthy situation was created within the Party. The country entered a new phase of development.

2. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LINKS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTRY IN BATTLE WITH DIFFICULTIES

The Central Committee of the Party immediately took a series of essential steps to put into effect the changes decided by the 1st Congress. All the laws, ordinances etc., were reviewed. With the new administrative division of the country, which reduced the number of districts by half, the forces of the Party and of the state were concentrated in fewer spots. Besides this, experienced cadres with authority were sent from the centre to the local Party and state organs. The uniting of town and regional committees put an end to the division created between town and countryside.

The grass root organizations of the Party were based on centres of production. The Party put the mass organizations on the right road. The errors committed in connection with the Democratic Front were corrected. The organizational structure and tasks of the Democratic Front were correctly defined, and this was reflected in the new Constitution of the Democratic Front of Albania. The Party acted in time against the tendency manifested after the congress by some communists, who were of the opinion that the Front should be dissolved, because the political work with the masses was being done by the trade unions, the organizations of youth and of women. The Democratic Front was the embodiment of the unity of the Albanian people around the Party. This form of organization, which had become a sound tradition, appeared as the most appropriate one for the uninterrupted strengthening of the political unity of the broad masses of the people in the struggle for the socialist construction of the country, for the defense of the Fatherland.

On the basis of the direction given by the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, the Congress of Unification of the Youth held in Shkodra in September 1949 fused the Communist Youth Organization and the People's Youth Organization[1] into a single organization that was named the Labor Youth Union of Albania. The Party charged the LYUA with the main task of keeping alive and further developing among the broad masses of the youth the spirit of sacrifice that had characterized it during the war and during the early years after liberation. Being in the forefront of socialist construction, the youth of the country were called upon to turn their attention to education, culture and technique, in order to provide new cadres of high ideological and vocational technical training.

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[1] «The People's Youth Organization» was the name given to the Union of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth at its 3rd Congress in October 1946.

The PLA instructed the trade unions of Albania to play a decisive role in the communist education of the workers and employees as well as in the fulfilment of the state plan. In the struggle for the carrying out of these tasks the working class would be tempered in an all-round manner and thus become capable of fulfilling better its leading role in the building of socialist society and in strengthening the basis of the Party. This instruction found expression at the 2nd Congress of the Trade Unions held in October 1949.

The Party Policy for Procurement and Supply

The most urgent problem, which at that time constituted the key to the series of Party tasks, was to strengthen the economic links between the working class and the peasantry and to achieve an immediate rise in the productive forces of agriculture. In a country like Albania, where small peasant economy prevailed, it was impossible to emerge from backwardness and build socialism without improving the situation in agriculture, without its further development and advancement. Industry could not be set up without ensuring supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs for the working people.

To achieve this, it was necessary, first of all, to put into effect a policy which would stimulate an increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The existing system of procurement and supply, far from solving this problem, had become an obstacle to the development of the forces of production in the countryside. The peasant did not show the proper concern about increasing agricultural products, because his surpluses of major products, especially grain, were taken over by the state. Another adverse influence in this direction was exerted by the outmoded system of rationing on the basis of which the peasants were supplied with coupons for industrial goods. Under these conditions, the peasant did not feel obliged to hand over to the buying and selling cooperatives products that were not subject to compulsion. Such goods he did not put on the market, or else he sold them at exorbitant prices. Besides this, because of the shortage of industrial goods in the free market, the peasants hesitated to hand over their quotas to the state. Those who profited from this situation were the kulaks and speculators. While ensuring goods of primary necessity from the state through their ration cards, they developed a black market in agricultural and industrial products and thus exploited the working masses of town and countryside.

The economic ties between town and countryside were being weakened. The worker began to view the peasant as a speculator. On their part the organs of the state, in order to collect the compulsory quotas, had often been obliged to enforce administrative measures against the peasants. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry was in jeopardy.

In order to avoid this danger and to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the Central Committee of the Party took a whole series of important economic measures to aid the peasants, such as increasing agrarian credits, expanding the irrigation and drainage network, assistance from the machine and tractor stations, etc. But these measures could not fully solve the problem of establishing sound economic links between the town and the countryside and of strengthening this alliance when small private ownership predominated in the countryside. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry could be further strengthened mainly through the economic ties in the sphere of trade, by the exchange of industrial goods for agricultural products. These ties were more understandable and advantageous to the peasant. The Party concretized its policy in this sphere by instituting **a new system of procurement and supply** which was approved by the Central Committee in January 1949.

According to the new system, what the peasant was obliged to hand over to the state was determined by the acreage and the quality of his land. Not all his surpluses of agricultural and livestock products were taken over, but only a portion of them, whereas the remainder he could freely dispose of himself. This system stimulated the development of the forces of production in agriculture and livestock farming. The peasant, knowing in advance the amount of produce that he was obliged to hand over to the state, would try his best to produce as much as possible in order to obtain as large a surplus as possible.

Through the new system of procurement the state ensured a good portion of the necessary quantities of agricultural and livestock products. Another portion was ensured through the new system of supply by procuring the surpluses left over to the peasant. This system regulated the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural and livestock products, and the supply of the working people of the city with goods of prime necessity. This system was based on the setting up of three kinds of markets.

The state guaranteed market, on the basis of ration cards, supplied working people employed by the state and other institutions together with dependent members of their families who were incapable of working. All the private handicraftsmen who did not exploit the work of others also were provisioned by the state guaranteed market so as not to hinder the production of handicraft goods, thus helping the revitalization of trade between town and countryside.

The barter market supplied the peasants by exchanging the surpluses of their own produce with industrial commodities. The principal commercial links between the countryside and the city were the buying and selling cooperatives. They had to be converted into important economic and social organizations which would serve the strengthening of the economic links and the alliance between the urban and rural working people.

The free market aimed at satisfying the needs of the peasants and of the city folk which were not met by the guaranteed and barter markets and provided for that category of people who were not supplied with ration cards. Prices in this market were much higher than those in the first two markets. Through the free market, the state aimed at withdrawing as much as possible of the money accumulated by the peasants and capitalist elements in private trade. Besides this, the free market spurred the peasant to exchange his own products through the barter market.

The new system of supply differentiated between the working people and the parasites, stimulated a larger labor force to engage in productive work in both urban and rural regions and saved a large quantity of grain which formerly had been distributed improperly and wasted.

The application of the new system of procurement and supply demanded the consolidation and vitalization of the state and cooperative trade, the main sphere of economic links between the town and the countryside. The reorganization of trade was effected in conformity with this system. The measures applied aimed at making the trade organizations better able to carry out the economic policy of the Party and to combat bureaucracy in their midst. The new forms of trade served directly also in revitalizing and expanding light industry.

To improve the organization of trade, a just and rapid distribution of goods, the Party devoted special care to training cadres and launched the slogan: «Communists must learn about trade».

A new stand was taken also toward the small private traders and private handicraftsmen. At a time when socialist commerce and industry were incapable of meeting all the demands of the working people, the need arose to revitalize, to a certain degree, the small private market. This was done with the aim of better meeting the needs of the working people. The development of small private trade and handicrafts was also of political importance, as it helped to strengthen the unity of the small private merchants and producers around the Democratic Front.

To permit the revitalization of small-scale trade and private handicraftsmanship meant to allow some sort of revitalization of the capitalist elements. But whatever danger there might have come to the socialist economy from the capitalist sector, it was avoided by the systematic control the state exercised over it. Besides this, the capitalist sector did not have any great weight in the national economy and was in no position to engage in competition with the socialist economy.

The new system of procurement and supply was not confined to exchange alone. It was an important integral part of the economic policy of the Party that directly helped the development of all branches of the people's economy. This system resolved correctly the problem of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

In Struggle with Difficulties in the Application of the New System of Procurement and Supply

The application of the new system of procurement and supply encountered major difficulties. This system embodied the policy of the Party of restricting the capitalist elements of town and countryside in favor of the working masses. The new ordinances imposed supplementary taxes on the kulak and blocked his way to speculation. This was one of the main reasons why the kulaks, from the very beginning, opposed the new system. Taking advantage of the fact that the peasant had not yet come to understand the profits accruing to him from this system and that the propaganda of the Party in this respect was still weak, they tried to distort its content and to set the peasants against the people's power. They resorted to such slogans as «the new system is good for the workers and employees only», «the state has left the peasantry without bread and clothing, therefore don't till the land», «it is the time for the poor peasants to die for lack of bread», «do not hand over the harvest». In many a village the school children were incited to demand bread ration cards. In order to hide their hostile activity, on the one hand, the kulaks themselves turned in their quotas while, on the other, they incited the poor and medium peasants not to hand in their products. Spurred on by the kulaks, some peasants refused to harvest the planned agricultural products, thinking that in this way they would escape their grain quotas. They did not understand that these obligations were determined not on the basis of the products harvested, but on the basis of the area of land under cultivation.

The peasants offered resistance also to the application of the ordinances of the government to hand over their quotas of other agricultural and livestock products, especially meat. In this respect, an adverse influence was exerted also by the fact that, in clarifying the resolution of the 1st Congress, some Party workers, while criticizing the errors committed in the past, had given the impression that there would be no obligations in the future.

Even some communists fell into the trap set by the kulaks. Because they were not aware of the importance of the new system and the perspective that it opened to the development of economy in general and agriculture in particular, they suspected that this system was to the detriment of the poor peasants. There were some secretaries of grass root organizations, communists and members of the people's councils, who, under pressure from the kulaks, slipped into opportunist positions and retreated before the difficulties in the application of the ordinances for the procurement of agricultural and livestock products. Others became sceptical and «complained» to the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing their opinion that «the ordinances of the government on procurement were unjust», that «agriculture was being ruined», that «the peasants were discontented», etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Open Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside» published in March 1949 in «Zëri i Popullit» was of great importance in changing the existing state of affairs. This letter explained the absolute necessity for the new system, emphasizing especially the perspectives that it opened to the development of agriculture and the entire people's economy.

Comrade Enver Hoxha called the attention of the Party organizations to the hostile activity of the kulaks. The kulak was not in a position to carry on the struggle against the people's power with his own forces. He needed allies, people who would adopt and spread his slogans. That is why he attempted to generalize his own discontent, to make it a discontent of the entire peasantry and to raise the latter against the people's power. The letter called on all communists to stand in the forefront of the struggle for the application of the new system of procurement and supply, not to yield to the difficulties encountered and, through their explanatory work, to eliminate the influence of the hostile work of the kulaks in the ranks of the peasantry.

Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized those communists who had no clear perspective of the development of the countryside on the road toward progress and prosperity, who remained slaves to the backward mentality, saying that «all our peasant wants is some kerosine and salt which are produced in the country». He pointed out the reactionary character of this thesis which divorced the peasant from the aim and effort to improve his well-being, darkened the prospects of the development of agriculture and of the construction of socialism in the countryside. He explained that «the Party leads the people toward socialism, toward happiness and abundance, it does not lead them to the Middle Ages. The Party works for today as well as for tomorrow». The life of the peasant cannot be improved without the all-round mechanization of agriculture, and this cannot be attained if agriculture is not in a position to supply the city with the necessary agricultural products and industry with raw materials.

The root of the evil, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, did not lie in the content of the ordinances on procurement and supply, but in the feeble links of the communists with the peasant masses, in the absence of all-sided explanatory work in the countryside.

The Open Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside» intensified the struggle of the grass root organizations and the district Party committees for the complete and just application of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the ordinances of the government on the new system of procurement and supply.

Following Comrade Enver Hoxha's Open Letter, those Party committees which previously considered the overall fulfilment of the tasks of procurement impossible shook themselves free from and rejected this attitude. All-round measures were taken to convince the peasants of the justice of the new system and to carry out an organized and more fruitful struggle against the class enemy.

The application of the new system of procurement and supply was hindered also by inadequate state reserves of industrial goods to be exchanged for agricultural products. Besides this, commodities were not being properly distributed owing to shortcomings of the commercial enterprises.

The weaknesses were due to the fact that Party organizations showed little concern about economic problems. After the 1st Congress, their attention was centred on inner Party problems, which were examined and solved correctly, whereas insufficient efforts were made to tackle economic problems. On top of this, Party organizations had even less experience in the field of economic management. Thus they were lacking in initiative and looked to the central organs to solve everything. Often economic problems were regarded only from the viewpoint of immediate daily needs.

The Central Committee criticized this erroneous stand and called on the Party organizations to centre their attention on an efficient organization and sound political direction of economic questions, doing away with the idea that everything could be solved through mass meetings and manifestations. Also criticized was the mistaken idea, which had begun to spread among Party and state cadres, that economy could be advanced by relying mainly on foreign aid.

In these circumstances, the Party had to engage in all-round work to raise the confidence of the cadres and the working people in their own forces, to convince them that the decisive factor for building socialism in Albania was the internal forces and resources, while foreign aid constituted an important complementary factor.

In order to meet the demands of the working people for industrial commodities and agricultural products the Party took measures to strengthen the handicraft cooperatives, correcting errors that had become apparent in the past. To help increase agricultural and livestock production, the Council of Ministers allocated special credits for the fall sowing of the year 1949 and reduced procurement quotas 15 per cent through a reclassification of land.

The Party had it clear that the great tasks which it faced could be coped with successfully only by firm reliance on the masses. It told the people openly about all the difficulties the country was meeting and would have to go through, and called on them to surmount them courageously. In response to this call, thousands of working people of the city and country volunteered for the construction of the «Stalin» Textile Plant in Tirana, the Maliq Sugar Refinery and other projects of the two-year plan. The determination of the people to build socialism was demonstrated also in the case of the 1st State Loan, which was turned into a great political action, demonstrating at its best the unity of the people with the Party and their loyalty to its political line.

Smashing the Plans of Internal and External Enemies

The great economic difficulties the country went through after the historic turning point of the 1st Congress were exploited in every conceivable way by the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. They believed that the Party of Labor of Albania could do nothing to cope with the difficult situation, and that the most favorable moment had come to carry out their sinister plans regarding Albania, which, following Tito's betrayal, found itself geographically surrounded by hostile states.

The radio and the press of the USA, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Greece, etc. launched a furious campaign of slanders and lies against the People's Republic of Albania, representing it as an «aggressor». From the air and in other ways imperialist and Yugoslav secret agents continually spread leaflets in which they called on the Albanian people to rise against their Party and government.

Alongside their propaganda activity, the external enemies of our country assembled and organized fugitive reactionary Albanians. With these elements, the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists set up new subversive organizations and held special conferences. Hundreds of political fugitives were sent to Albania as saboteurs.

By land, sea and air, all along the state boundaries provocations were mounted uninterruptedly. All these activities were aimed at preparing the ground for direct armed intervention against the People's Republic of Albania.

Espionage activity especially increased. The U.S., British, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav agents acted against Albania on the basis of coordinated plans.

The Yugoslav revisionist leadership set in motion its agents in Albania through its diplomatic mission to Tirana. This became a centre for organizing subversion and economic sabotage. Propaganda and threats were used to organize the fleeing of Albanian citizens into Yugoslavia.

The agents of foreign spy centres established contact with criminals at large within the country. With their help they committed acts of terror, assassinated militants of the Party and the state, among whom was Bardhok Biba, Deputy to the People's Assembly and First Secretary of the District Party Committee of Mirdita. They set fire to storehouses in cooperative farms, government offices and schools in the countryside.

The Titoite leaders resorted to all-round pressure and blackmail in the diplomatic sphere and did their best to isolate the People's Republic of Albania. They cut off all air communication between Albania and the other socialist countries, unilaterally declared the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between Yugoslavia and Albania invalid and, finally, demanded the withdrawal of the Albanian Legation from Belgrade. Emboldened by the intensification of the imperialist and revisionist activity, the class enemy within the country did their best to create an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. They spread such rumors as «war will break out soon», «there are disagreements within the government and the Central Committee», «the situation will change very soon», etc.

The internal reaction used the campaign of the Party against the activity of the Yugoslav leadership and the Koçi Xoxe group for its own purposes. Hostile elements exploiting the errors of the past tried to attack the Party line as a whole. Those who had been affected justly by the reforms and the laws of the people's power began to complain that they had been treated unfairly. Pretending that they wanted to redress any evil which had occurred and that they were allegedly «concerned about the welfare of the people», they turned criticism of past mistakes into a campaign against the Party activists and the local organs of people's power for the purpose of alienating them from and inciting them against the masses. They tried to remove the names of communists from the lists of candidates to the people's councils. They attempted to divert class struggle and direct the blows of the Party and people against the State Security organs. The warning given at the 1st Congress, to the effect that the enemy would concentrate its blows against these same organs, helped in the timely exposure of the tactics employed by the enemy, in the defense of the organs and employees of the State Security and in the correction of the errors of some communists in this respect.

It was in these circumstances that, on the 2nd of August, 1949, Greek armed forces supported by artillery and aircraft mounted a sudden attack and penetrated some 300-400 metres into Albanian soil. This provocation was an act of aggression calculated to establish the chauvinist claims of the Greek Government on Korça and Gjirokastra. The armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania dealt with this aggression, completely smashing and eliminating the enemy.

While Greek forces were violating the boundaries of Albania, the Yugoslav Government, increasing its hostile activity, also undertook threatening troop movements on the northern boundaries of Albania in the districts of Ochrida and Struga. At the same time the U.S., British and Italian secret services dropped increased numbers of diversionists from the air with the aim of provoking trouble in the rear of the army. Reactionary elements within the country were ready to take to the mountains. The Yugoslav Government had undertaken to equip them with arms. These groups, made up of the remnants of the «Balli kombëtar» and «Legality» organizations, were wiped out by the organs of the State Security before they could stage their «uprising».

All these facts proved that the People's Republic of Albania was facing a coordinated, aggressive activity of the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the Italian neo-fascists, under the leadership and with the support of the U.S. and British imperialists.

In those difficult moments the Albanian people rallied still more strongly around their Party. They were ready to defend the victories of the people's revolution at all costs. Thousands of people volunteered to take up arms and fight the aggressors. On a decision of the Party and government tens of thousands of peasants were armed and participated together with the forces of the State Security and the Border Guards in wiping out the bands of diversionists and criminals. The working masses demonstrated their loyalty to the Party and the people's power by throwing themselves with all their might into the fulfilment of the economic tasks.

In strengthening the ties of the Party with the masses and deepening the people's confidence in their Party and government an important role was played by the visit of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the northern provinces in September 1949 and his meetings with the local people.

The struggle of the Party and the people to overcome the extraordinary difficulties and to eliminate the activity of the imperialists and revisionists was crowned with a series of important successes in the economic sphere.

The volume of procurement in the year 1949 in comparison with the year 1948 was as follows: wheat 138.8 per cent, maize 255.7 per cent. Compared with the year 1947 the turnover of goods in 1949 was 137.7 per cent. As a consequence the fund of accumulated products grew, new sources of production were ensured in the countryside, the market situation improved and the working masses were better supplied. The economic links between town and countryside and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry were strengthened.

3. PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL UNITY, FULFILLING THE TWO-YEAR PLAN

Under the new conditions, the Party would be able to apply its policy to cope with the difficulties, provided it preserved and strengthened its unity and ensured the fulfilment of the two-year plan.

Eliminating Distortions and Violations of the Party Line

After the turning point, some distortions and violations of the Party line, breaches of discipline and abuses of criticism and self-criticism due to the misinterpretation of the inner democracy of the Party and to imperialist and revisionist pressure became apparent.

The Central Committee took immediate measures to put an end to these manifestations, demanding the rigorous application of the Constitution of the Party.

An unhealthy state of affairs in the Party organization of the Lushnja District was put right. Ambition, arrogance, career-seeking and liberalism toward the kulak had struck deep roots, a situation that the class enemy had used to its own advantage. The District Party Committee was dissolved and the main culprits were removed from the leading organs and from the Party. Cadres sent out by the Central Committee strengthened the Party leadership in this district.

The Party also condemned manifestations of opportunism apparent in the work of some employees of the organs of justice who, speculating on the fact that the organs of justice are independent institutions, underrated the Party control and did not keep in mind in their practice that these organs have a class character, and cannot act outside the class struggle.

It was at this time that the anti-Party group of Abedin Shehu and Niazi Islami was exposed. The distinguishing features of this group were: yielding under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and despondency and lack of faith in the economic line of the Party. This group considered the two-year plan to be unrealistic and spread the spirit of demobilization amongst the cadres and workers. The defeatist work of the members of this group had an influence in the failure to complete the plan in industry, particularly in oil extraction and transport, where they occupied leading positions. Besides this, they did not appreciate the importance of the history of the Albanian people, they scorned the working masses and, especially, the Albanian working class. They had no faith in the defense capacity of the country or in the military preparedness of the People's Army.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA held in February 1950 exposed the viewpoints and activity of this anti-Party group and took all-round measures to wipe out the spirit of defeatism it had disseminated.

The vigilance of the Central Committee also exposed in good time and smashed the anti-Party activity of Gjin Marku and Nexhip Vinçani who were distorting the policy of the Party and undermining the leadership of the Party in the army.

In order to block the way to violations of the line of the Party, to preserve and strengthen its unity, it was imperative, besides other things, for the Party to rid itself of a number of unworthy members. For this purpose, in

January 1950 the Central Committee of the PLA took the decision on the verification of Party cards.

The verification of the Party cards was an important organizational measure which served to cleanse the ranks of the Party, procure complete and exact information on every communist, establishing order in questions of Party administration. It helped, at the same time, to strengthen the whole internal life of the Party and served as a school for the education of the communists.

The Party did not consider this purge as the only measure to strengthen itself. It devoted great care also to the ideological and political training of its members, especially of those who had entered the ranks of the Party prematurely, who remained at a low ideological and political level, but were loyal and determined to apply its line. At the same time, the Party took important measures for raising the educational level of the communists.

The 2nd National Conference of the Party

The 2nd National Conference of the PLA held in Tirana in April 1950 was devoted to finding ways and means to overcome the difficulties impeding the fulfilment of the two-year plan and to strengthen the leading role of the Party.

The conference made an assessment of the national and international situation since the 1st Congress of the Party.

The year 1949 witnessed important changes in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of peace and socialism.

The triumph of the Chinese revolution and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on the 1st of October 1949 was a brilliant victory of the great Chinese

people and the greatest historical victory of the international working class since the Great October Socialist Revolution. It inflicted a decisive blow on the colonial system and shook the capitalist world to its foundations. The ratio of forces in the world changed even more in favor of socialism. The Chinese revolution became a source of inspiration for the oppressed peoples and a great force of attraction for the world revolutionary movement. Another victory for socialism was the creation of the Democratic Republic of Germany.

The world socialist system now comprised more than one-fourth of the territory and more than one-third of the population of the earth. The socialist camp included: the USSR, China, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Hungary, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In these circumstances and in order to avoid utter defeat, the imperialists intensified their hostile activities against the socialist countries as well as their preparations for launching aggressive wars. Under the guidance of the U.S. imperialists, the aggressive military bloc of the «North Atlantic Treaty Organization» (NATO) was set up. It was directed primarily against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. The increased subversive activity of the imperialists against the socialist camp was directly connected also with the all-round imperialist and revisionist offensive against Albania. The enemy thought that Albania was isolated from the socialist camp and represented its weakest link.

But geographic isolation did not prevent the socialist camp from giving the Albanian people all-round help and support. On the contrary, with the broadening and strengthening of this camp, the internal and international positions of the People's Republic of Albania were still further strengthened. In these difficult times for Albania, the Soviet Union showed itself ready to advance the credits Albania needed for the development of its socialist economy and defensive power. The other socialist countries also were ready to help the PRA.

The 2nd National Conference expressed its gratitude for this help and demanded that more be done to further strengthen the bonds of friendship with the Soviet people, the Chinese people and with the other fraternal peoples of the socialist countries.

Analysing the internal situation, the conference pointed out that, despite the important progress achieved, the plan of industrial production, especially of oil extraction for the year 1949, had not been fulfilled. This was due to a number of factors. Prior to their departure from Albania, the Yugoslav specialists had degasified the oil fields. The defeatist activity of the anti-Party group had exercised an adverse influence. Shortcomings in the management of industry and lack of sufficient manpower were other causes.

In agriculture, too, the tasks had not been completed. As a consequence of shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Agriculture, there were irregularities in the registration of land for taxation purposes, in agricultural statistics, in registering reclaimed lands, as well as in the repartition of the arable land. This situation had hindered the planning of the planting and procurement of agricultural products.

To cope with the existing situation and to fulfil the two-year plan, the conference instructed that the 1950 plan must be overfulfilled in all its targets to cover deficits of 1949 wherever possible.

In the sphere of agriculture the conference set the Party as its principal task the carrying out of a great political campaign of patient explanation and organization to persuade the peasants to plant those crops of which the national economy was in need and which were included in the state plan.

At the same time, the conference drew attention to the fact that the problem of collectivization should not be lost sight of, although it was not to be rushed. It demanded that special care should be taken

> «to strengthen the cooperative farms so that they serve as an example and stimulus for the setting up of new cooperative farms in the lowlands».[1]

With a view to enhancing the leading role of the Party, the conference instructed that the method of work and collective leadership must be improved, bureaucracy combatted and great care shown for the political direction of economic and state problems. The conference criticized instances when Party organizations had replaced state and economic organs and demanded that their leading role should be played not through substitution, but through sound political explanatory activity and continuous help and check-up in the Party spirit.

The conference criticized some instances of lack of concern for the organizations of the masses, and the arrogant behavior of some communists toward the people. It stressed the need for continuous work to strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, to further enliven the mass organizations and the people's councils, to increase the participation of the workers of town and countryside in solving problems of the state and the economy.

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[1] Resolution of the 2nd National Conference, April 14, 1950. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 31.

The Fulfilment of the Two-year Plan 1949-1950

The decisions of the 2nd National Conference went a long way to correct many shortcomings in the work of the Party as well as to further mobilize the communists and all the working people for the fulfilment of the two-year plan.

The work for the fulfilment of the economic tasks improved. The plan for 1950 was overfulfilled. At the end of the year the volume of industrial production had been increased fourfold in comparison with 1938. Nevertheless, the deficits from the year 1949 were not entirely covered. As a consequence the two-year plan was fulfilled only 91 per cent. However, taking into account the extraordinary difficulties of this period, this was a big success.

In 1950 total agricultural output increased 30 per cent in comparison with 1938. Progress was made also in the collectivization of agriculture. Agricultural cooperatives increased from 56 in 1948 to 90 in 1950.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production exercised a direct influence on the improvement of the standard of living of the working masses. National income in 1950 was 16.8 per cent higher than in 1948. In 1950 important price reductions were made for goods in the state trade network.

Along with the economic successes, important successes were achieved in the political sphere also. The May 28, 1950 elections to the People's Assembly, with the participation of 99 per cent of the electors, of whom 98 per cent voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front, constituted a brilliant victory. This was yet another testimony to the love and devotion the people nurtured for their Party, as well as of their determination to defend the Fatherland and build socialism.

In July 1950 the People's Assembly decided to make some additions and amendments to the Constitution of

the People's Republic of Albania. These were dictated by the social and economic changes that had taken place in Albania during the four-year period since the adoption of the Constitution. The following article was added to the Constitution: «The People's Republic of Albania is a state of the workers and laboring peasants». This article expressed the political and social reality of the country and the essence of the new state of people's democracy, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Another article was added to the Constitution which recognized the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country. It reflected the support to be given to the socialist development of agriculture, and formulated expressly for the first time the socialist principle of distribution «from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work».

The Party had remained faithful to its revolutionary foreign policy. It had taken a series of measures to ensure peace and to stop imperialist aggression. In July 1950, the People's Assembly decided to associate itself with the Stockholm Appeal to support the world movement for peace and, at the same time, issued a declaration against the armed intervention by the U.S. imperialists in Korea. In January 1951 it approved a law condemning war-mongering and propaganda for wars of aggression, describing those as «grave crimes against humanity, against peace among the peoples and against the Fatherland».

Against Manifestations of Conciliation with the Class Enemy

After the defeat which they suffered in 1949, the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists did everything in their power to encourage the internal class enemies, preventing their losing hope and, wherever possible, inciting them to actions against the people's democratic order. For this purpose they continued their unrestrained hostile propaganda, border provocations, dispatch of diversionist bands, especially espionage agents. Diversionists and spies from abroad together with local hostile elements committed a series of new acts of terror, sabotage and theft of state and cooperative property. The enemies resorted particularly to the tactics of exercising direct pressure on the communists, especially those of the countryside, and tried to compromise them. To some they would send threatening letters, others were surprised in their homes by diversionists. The kulaks used various ways and means to link themselves with the communists through marriages, material «help», etc. They addressed to the Party committees numerous provocative complaints against this or that communist, against this or that severe measure taken «unjustly» against them, asking them to annul those measures. The enemy elements would nurture in various Party members the remnants of petty-bourgeois ideals and incite them to transgress communist morality, to squander and steal socialist property.

The Party, the people's power, the working people in general, were prepared for a fierce class struggle and were determined to overcome every obstacle and difficulty on the road of socialist construction. In spite of this, the strong pressure of the external and internal enemies could not fail to leave some traces. They were found even in the ranks of the Party. In the face of this pressure, a number of communists wavered, some went under. As a result some manifestations of softening, generosity and concessions toward the kulaks and other class enemies, a trend to conciliation with them, became apparent.

Under the pressure of the class enemy, even some members of the Central Committee submitted, among them Tuk Jakova, Member of the Political Bureau and

Secretary of the Central Committee for Organizational Problems. His submission was not at all accidental. He had never been stripped of certain evils inherited from the period of the communist groups such as localism, ambition, petty-bourgeois magnanimity toward the class enemy. His activity as a communist had always been permeated by profound opportunism, by lack of revolutionary vigilance, failure to be rigorous in the performance of his duties and in raising his ideological level.

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania he took advantage of the condemnation of the activity of Koçi Xoxe to pose as one of the most persecuted communists and temporarily succeeded in hushing up his own stand in opposition to the line of the Party.

After the congress and even before it, Tuk Jakova broke under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and gravely damaged the activity of the Party through his opportunist stand toward the class enemy. To him, class struggle was dying down. In his opinion, the People's Republic of Albania was under no threat from the U.S. imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. In various ways he encouraged a soft policy toward the kulaks. He intervened with the state organs to make things easier for hostile elements, to free them from prison. He completely underrated the hostile activity of the reactionary Catholic clergy and supported them in all sorts of ways.

Tuk Jakova was opposed to the economic line of the Party which gave priority to the development of heavy industry and, in particular, to the development of the mineral industry, especially expressing himself against investments in the oil industry. He nurtured the idea that some branches of the economic plan were unrealistic. With such an opportunist and defeatist stand he had obstructed the work of the Party and mass organizations for the fulfilment of the state plan.

Tuk Jakova had committed impermissible mistakes also in Party organizational matters. His concessions and failure to apply the Constitution and the decisions of the Party, his bureaucratic methods had brought about serious shortcomings in the policy of cadres, in the method of work of the organs and apparatuses of the Party and the organizations of the masses. This had brought about also breaches of the rules for admission to Party membership, violations of discipline and the weakening of criticism, self-criticism and vigilance.

He had been a supporter of the mistaken belief that the verification of the Party cards should be done outside the control of the communist masses, without the direct participation of the basic Party organizations.

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee held in February 1951, analysing the political situation and the work of the Party, disclosed the causes of the opportunist manifestations toward the class enemy and showed the way to combat them. It condemned the anti-Marxist stand and the grave errors of Tuk Jakova, discharged him from his responsibilities as Secretary of the Central Committee and removed him from the Political Bureau.

On this occasion the Central Committee made a sound Marxist-Leninist criticism of its own work and immediately corrected the shortcomings it had allowed to occur under the influence of the carelessness and opportunism of Tuk Jakova. Measures were taken to improve the collective leadership, to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, to call all the members of the plenum to account, to exercise a more systematic and exacting control over the application of its decisions.

The Party was mobilized with renewed vigor to bar the way to all manifestations of conciliation and all tendencies to come to terms with the class enemy and to deal him still heavier blows.

> «Let it be borne in mind by the whole Party,» instructed the Central Committee, «that our victories do not diminish the class struggle. Faced with our successes and made desperate by its losses, the enemy is intensifying and becoming more savage in its efforts to regain power, using ever more varied and newer forms».[1]

The Party organizations were placed on a more militant footing. The Marxist-Leninist analysis to which the Central Committee subjected the political situation and the work of the Party, the stern principled stand toward opportunism helped the communists to understand more profoundly and more concretely the objective necessity of the struggle against the class enemy, to be better protected against slipping into positions of reconciliation with it. A more rigorous rule was established for their Marxist-Leninist training. The Party explained to the working masses the new forms and manoeuvres resorted to by the enemy against the People's Republic of Albania, sharpening still further their revolutionary vigilance.

In particular, their attention was concentrated on the correct application of the Party's policy in respect to the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks, by drawing the middle and poor peasants into the struggle on a broader scale against them. To that end, of great help were the special instructions on how to single out the kulaks, which were carried out by the state organs after careful work under the direct guidance of the Central Committee and the district Party committees. The kulaks were excluded from all the state assistance enjoyed by the peasants. They were subjected to heavier taxes in money. It was decided that when the property of kulaks was confiscated 25 per cent of it would be distributed free of charge among the poor peasants.

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[1] Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee on the Political Situation and the Work of the Party, February 23, 1951. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 55.

While struggling against the conciliatory attitude toward the class enemy, the Party at the same time attacked all sectarian manifestations causing confusion among the masses and hindering their mobilization to fulfil their political and economic tasks and to combat the enemy more vigorously. Those Party committees that distorted the policy of the Party and permitted the application of premature administrative measures amounting to the immediate liquidation of the kulaks as a class or, still worse, that even included the medium peasants in the category of kulaks, were strongly criticized. The Party was against any measure leading to artificial sharpening of the class struggle, because only the enemy could profit from such measures.

In the struggle to overcome the difficulties caused by the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the internal class enemy, as well as against opportunism, the Party preserved and strengthened its ideological and organizational unity, enriched its experience in political leadership and in the socialist construction of the country.

Efforts to Lift Agriculture Out of Its Backwardness

The backwardness of agriculture continued to be one of the most worrying problems for the Party, because it was a direct hindrance to the development of other branches of the economy. Despite the favorable effects of the measures taken in 1949-1950, they could not lift agriculture out of its backwardness. The development of agriculture continued to lag and the disproportion between the development of agriculture and industry was being deepened. This caused difficulties in meeting the needs of the working masses for agricultural products and in supplying industry with raw materials. The use of only 75 per cent of the agricultural credits as well as the high prices of industrial goods in comparison with agricultural products were obstacles in this direction.

The problem of the slow development of agriculture and overcoming its backwardness was taken up at the April 1951 Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA. However, at this plenum the problem was tackled in a one-sided manner leading to the erroneous conclusion that the small peasant economies had exhausted all their possibilities for increasing agricultural production. Proceeding from the correct premise that cooperation was the principal means of lifting agriculture out of its backwardness, the plenum decided to switch to collectivization of agriculture on a mass scale. But this was a premature decision containing in itself the danger of compromising collectivization, because the conditions for the socialist reorganization of the whole of agriculture were not yet ripe. The Party rectified this hasty decision in time. The Central Committee met again in May. It emphasized that under the concrete conditions of Albania the main task was not the extension of collectivization in the countryside, but the strengthening of existing agricultural cooperatives and the exploitation of all the possibilities of the small peasant economy to increase production.

Making a correct assessment of all the conditions, possibilities and means, the Party reached the conclusion that the best road to advance agriculture at that time was to further strengthen and perfect the economic links between town and countryside and to correct the disproportion between industry and agriculture:

> «We should bear in mind,» instructed the Central Committee, «that the close linking of town and

> countryside will be achieved only on an economic basis. . . . We should build our economy in a harmonious way. We are interested in advancing industry, but are just as interested in advancing agriculture, and let us not forget that the development of industry depends on the development of agriculture».[1]

During 1951, the aid to the countryside was increased. Measures were taken to check the errors made in the registration for taxation purposes and in the classification of the land. The obligatory grain quota was lowered by 25 per cent and individual properties with small annual incomes were exempted from taxation.

As the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods was such that it did not encourage the peasants to increase production and, on the whole, did not attract them to the barter markets, the Party placed importance on the lowering of industrial prices. In 1951 a new price cut for industrial goods was effected which reduced to some degree the disproportion in prices.

At the same time, efforts were made to further strengthen and develop state and cooperative commerce and, especially, the buying and selling cooperatives. This helped to convert them into powerful mass organizations for linking the town and the countryside economically and politically and for spreading the spirit of collectivization among peasants.

The economic measures aimed at lifting agriculture from its backwardness were accompanied by extensive political and organizational Party work. Importance was attached to the improvement of the social content and activity of basic organizations of the Party. The work of the people's councils and of the youth and women's organizations was also encouraged.

4. THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE PLA. TASKS FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIA INTO AN AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY

The 2nd Congress of the PLA was held from the 31st of March to the 7th of April 1952, with the participation of 592 delegates with deliberative vote and 142 delegates with consultative vote, representing 44,418 Party members and candidate members. Party membership at this congress was slightly smaller than at the 1st Congress mainly due to the fact that during the verification of Party cards 8 per cent of its members were expelled.

The Directives of the First Five-year Plan The congress considered that the economic and cultural development of the country on the basis of a longer term plan was now entirely possible. It approved the directives of the first five-year plan for the 1951-1955 period.

Before being approved by the congress, these directives were discussed for more than two months in the Party organizations and at open meetings of the workers of town and countryside. Many opinions and proposals came forth from these meetings and the majority of them were taken into consideration by the respective organs.

The plan relied, first of all, on our own forces, on the internal resources, on the experience gained, and the capabilities of the cadres of our country. It was based also on the help of the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The help rendered by the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of Albania at that time aimed mainly at the development of the country's productive forces so that the people's economy could stand on its own feet. The Party valued this aid as an important external factor in the construction of socialism.

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[1] Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, September 21, 1951. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 110.

The main tasks of the first five-year plan were: **the acceleration of the rate of construction of the economic base of socialism and of the development of the productive forces so that, at the end of the first five-year period, Albania would be transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial one; the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the working masses.**

The Party defined the setting up of modern socialist industry as the key to the fulfilment of these tasks. In fact the industrialization of the country had already begun with the implementation of the two-year plan, but an extensive and comprehensive program to lay the foundations of a socialist industry was drawn up only at the 2nd Congress.

The Party appreciated correctly the principle that the production of the means of production plays the decisive role in the development of industry and the people's economy as a whole. In conformity with this principle, great stress was laid on the setting up and development of different branches of heavy industry, but not all branches of heavy industry were included because the economic and technical possibilities for this did not exist in the country. The necessary machinery was to be procured from the socialist countries through credit and exchanges. Albania was to develop those branches of heavy industry for which it possessed the natural resources and that were economically most advantageous. Under the concrete conditions of our country, heavy industry in the main consisted of the mines, the engineering, electrical and building materials industries. It was envisaged that these branches would be developed as quickly as possible. The mining industry had prime importance. It would become the main basis for the development of other branches of industry and for the fulfilment of the needs of the processing industry for raw materials. At the same time, through the export of mineral products, our country would ensure the machinery and equipment necessary for its industry and agriculture.

During the first five-year plan the power industry would be equipped with hydro-electric and thermo-electric power-stations as the energy base to meet the needs of industry and the whole of the people's economy.

As the country had a great and urgent need for mass consumer goods and with the aim of reducing imports, the development of the light and food-processing industry, relying mainly on the exploitation of local raw materials, was given an important place in the plan, too.

To ensure the rapid rise of industrial production set down in the plan, investments three times as big as those during the 1946-1950 five-year period were envisaged.

If the tasks set by the 2nd Congress for the development of industry were to be solved, two main obstacles had to be overcome: first, the low rate of development of agriculture, which had by far the greatest specific weight in the people's economy, and second, the lack of technical cadres and the low technical and educational level of workers. Special care was taken to surmount these obstacles.

While total industrial output in 1951 was four times that of the year 1938, agricultural production was only 30 per cent higher.

> «The rapid growth of industry,» instructed the congress, «. . . demands that agriculture develop at a more rapid pace than thus far, so that it can

cope with the needs of industry for raw materials as well as those of the state and the people for agricultural products».[1]

The only way to lift agriculture from its backwardness was the socialist transformation of the countryside. However, in the existing conditions, it was still not possible to follow the course of mass collectivization, because the bulk of the peasants were not as yet fully convinced of the superiority of the socialist system in agriculture and, besides, the necessary technical and economic base was still lacking. The 2nd Congress underlined the fact that, under those conditions, for the acceleration of the development of agriculture it was necessary to strengthen the existing agricultural cooperatives, to strengthen and extend the agricultural and livestock enterprises. It was necessary also to consolidate the economic ties between town and countryside through the extension of the machine and tractor stations and the mechanization of agriculture, through the aid the state should give the laboring peasantry in the form of agricultural credits, the supply of the countryside with more industrial articles and the further regulation of the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods.

The increase of agricultural production was to be achieved through the growth of crop yields and the expansion of the areas under cultivation.

The principal task of agriculture was to increase the production of food grains. Another feature of the development of agriculture during the first five-year plan was to expand the area sown to industrial crops. To fulfil the tasks in agriculture, investment was to be doubled in comparison with the years 1946-1950.

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[1] Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA, April 1952. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 149.

Solution of the problem of technical cadres and qualified workers demanded the further development and acceleration of the cultural revolution. During the first five-year period, the network of schools was to be greatly expanded, the total number of pupils was to be increased by 370 per cent over that of the year 1938, the number of agronomists more than 5 times and the number of engineers 18 times. Eighty-five hundred technicians with secondary schooling and about 54,000 qualified workers also were to be trained.

The congress drew the attention of the Party to the backwardness of the regions of the North such as Kukës, Tropoja, Mirdita, Puka, etc. and recommended that special attention be given to their cultural advancement.

This five-year plan provided for the abolition of illiteracy.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production would help to raise the well-being of the working masses and would prepare the conditions for the abolition of the rationing system.

Investments for social and cultural needs were to be 3-4 times greater than those of the years 1946-1950.

The first five-year plan marked a new phase in the swift economic and cultural development of the country. Its fulfilment would create the essential conditions for commencing the final phase of the construction of the economic base of socialism.

Improve the Method of Political Leadership by the Party

The scientific analysis of the leadership by the Party following the 1st Congress and the summing up of its experience in that period made by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report submitted to the 2nd Congress were of major importance. This analysis helped the congress to detect and criticize distortions in the application of the Party's line and the weak spots in the Party organizations. The congress criticized opportunist manifestations toward the class enemy, bureaucracy, the monopolization by the Party committees of work that should be done by the state organs, the method of work by proclamation, little real political work, insufficient activization of all communists and the mass organizations, etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha condemned the tendency to solve problems by endless meetings and lengthy decisions in the following words:

> «We call meeting after meeting which go on for hours and days on end but very little comes out of them».[1]
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> «Decisions are taken, many decisions at that, but not all of them are applied. Then nearly as many decisions are taken again to carry out the previous decisions. New decisions are adopted also on matters already decided upon but forgotten. That is tantamount to trifling with the work and the decisions, to pretend that you are working and bringing out decisions, but in reality you are doing nothing, you are marking time and obstructing the work».[2]

Proceeding from the experience gained, the congress defined as by far the most important prerequisite for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan:

> «The improvement and strengthening of the Party's guiding role in the economy, the strengthening and improvement of the work for the close linking of economic problems with political work. The exercise of continuous, systematic and rigorous

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report to the 2nd Congress of the PLA, March 31, 1952, Tirana, 1952, p. 42.

[2] Ibid., p. 41.

> check-up on the application of decisions and the fulfilment of the tasks of the Party and the state. The fight for well organized work and the elimination of bureaucracy».[1]

The central and local organs and the Party organizations were instructed to review and correct their methods of work on the basis of the conclusions and decisions of the 2nd Congress. It was considered imperative that the Leninist principles of collective leadership, of rendering accounts by directing organs to the masses of the communists who had elected them, of criticism and self-criticism, of the role of the working masses as builders of socialism and of their organizations as powerful levers of the Party, of the systematic Marxist-Leninist training of the Party members, should not remain only a generally accepted and propagated line but be implemented in life persistently and to the full.

At the same time, the congress especially instructed the communists to be always vigilant, never to forget for a single moment the danger threatening the Party from the pressure of the imperialists and Titoites from without, the kulaks and other class enemies from within. From the Party's experience of the struggle against deviations and internal enemies after liberation, especially in the period between the two congresses, the conclusion was reached that the main danger was right opportunism, the offspring of capitulation to imperialist and revisionist pressures.

> «The rightist deviation, opportunism, should be considered as the greatest danger to our Party . . . without in any way forgetting the danger of the left-wing deviation. . . .

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[1] Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 411.

> The pressure of the bourgeoisie on our Party should be considered as a very serious danger and combatted continuously with the greatest force».[1]

Pick in One Hand and Rifle in the Other

The 2nd Congress warned Party and people that in their efforts and struggle for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan they would encounter many difficulties which would be surmounted only through all-round moral and material, political and military preparedness.

There were various difficulties. Those of growth were connected with the backwardness the country had inherited from the past, with the lack of experience, with the insufficient technical and cultural training of the cadres and workers in general. These were to be overcome through organization, discipline and the conviction of the masses in the correctness of the line of the Party and their mobilization.

At the same time, Party and people had to be completely prepared to cope with the difficulties the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists would create through their all-out and incessant hostile activity against the PRA. The external enemies were framing new plans for the destruction of the people's democratic order in Albania. The Yugoslav Government together with the Greek and Turkish Governments, incited and assisted by the U.S. imperialists, were preparing to rig up an aggressive Balkan pact which was directed, first and foremost, against Albania and Bulgaria.

Proceeding from this situation, the 2nd Congress laid emphasis on the slogan of the Party, which had become also the principal motto in the activity of the masses of the people after the liberation of the country: **«Let us build socialism keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other».**[1] It called for sharp vigilance and for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party. Nothing should be spared in raising the defense capacity of the Fatherland, in further perfecting the People's Army, the Border Guards and the State Security.

Condemning the aggression of the U.S. imperialists against Korea and their entire war-mongering and aggressive policy, the congress instructed that a ceaseless campaign should be conducted to increase the hatred of the people against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, until its complete exposure. It described the struggle against imperialism as the main condition for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

Solidarity with the international working class and with all the peoples fighting for their liberation from the imperialist yoke was also stressed. The further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries was another task set. The congress underlined the absolute necessity of exposing the Titoite clique as an agency of imperialism.

The congress elected the Central Committee of the Party composed of 27 members and 12 candidate members. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected Secretary-General of the Party.

5. FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPROPORTION BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AND IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS

The fulfilment of the first five-year plan encountered difficulties which had not been properly envisaged. The plan for the development of the economy during the years 1951 and 1952 was not fulfilled. The anticipated rise of the well-being of the working people was not achieved. The main source of these obstacles lay in the backwardness of agriculture and its slower-than expected rate of development. While the sown area was extended according to plan, productivity, especially of food grain, remained below the level assigned. There was an appreciable decline in livestock farming. Thus, the disproportion between industry and agriculture, instead of being reduced, as foreseen in the plan, was intensified.

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[1] Ibid., p. 141.

[1] Ibid., p. 154.

The Causes of Disproportion Between Industry and Agriculture

This state of affairs caused the Central Committee great concern. It held a special discussion of the matter and disclosed the causes that had brought it about.

The backwardness inherited by agriculture from the past, the low level of education and culture of the peasant masses and the small private property in the countryside impeded the extensive use of technology and the full exploitation of the possibilities the Party had created for the growth of agricultural production. The correct instruction of the 2nd Congress for a more rapid development of agriculture and for reducing the discrepancy between industry and agriculture was not kept properly in mind and did not find full reflection in the figures of the plan. The investments did not cope with the needs for the advancement of agriculture in the conditions of small private ownership. In fact they were smaller than the investments in transport and communications. This did not respond to the task laid down by the 2nd Congress to increase agricultural production by 171 per cent at the end of the five-year plan, mainly through increased productivity.

On the other hand, in the sector of industry, too, the possibilities did not permit the intended rate of progress. The construction of new industrial projects was expanded beyond the forces and availabilities at hand. The rate set for the completion of some of the big projects could not be attained. The building of these projects required a very great annual increase of labor power averaging 26,000 persons. The recruiting of all this manpower brought about the withdrawal of a large number of peasants from agriculture. Although the figure set was never attained, it became an obstacle both for agriculture and for the fulfilment of the plan in industry, especially in the building of industrial projects.

Apart from weaknesses of planning, the economic burdens of the peasants also adversely influenced the development of agriculture. The state quotas on the peasants were high, taxes on agriculture were still heavy. The drought of the years 1950-52 made the quotas on the peasants unrealizable. During those years the peasants had to hand over to the state 40-50 per cent of the corn production instead of approximately 25 per cent as envisaged in the plan.

The drought brought heavy losses to agriculture, and also reduced the number of livestock. One-third of all the farms of the Republic lacked draught oxen at a time when the areas under cultivation had increased, the variety and volume of agricultural work had been extended and agricultural mechanization was insufficient.

The yields envisaged for the production of food grains were not attained also because part of the best land was sown to industrial crops. The expansion of those areas was done in an ill-considered manner, often without taking into consideration either the wishes of the peasants or the farm hands needed for growing these crops. As a result here also the yields failed to reach the expected targets.

The disproportion in the price ratio between industrial and agricultural products, despite the measures taken by the Party, had not been completely eliminated. With his income, the peasant could hardly afford to buy farming tools because of the high prices of the tools in comparison with the prices of agricultural and livestock products. Apart from this, supplying the peasants with farming tools was made difficult also because neither industry nor the artisans had turned out the planned quantities of these implements.

The failure to attain the progress foreseen in agriculture directly obstructed the fulfilment of the tasks for the production of mass consumption goods. This caused difficulties in supplying the people and prevented the improvement of the living standards of the working people of town and countryside.

Certain other circumstances also hindered the improvement of the people's well-being. Eager for profits, the consumers' cooperatives effected the accumulation and distribution of agricultural goods as well as the sale of farming tools mainly through the free market, thus failing to ensure the necessary goods for the guaranteed and barter markets. The big increase in the number of workers from the ranks of the peasants who descended on the cities demanded new investments to house and supply them and their families with rationed goods. Attempts to abolish the small private trade through premature administrative measures, without taking into account the direction given by the Central Committee on this matter, had also brought about scarcity of goods in the market.

At this time the Party discovered yet another weak spot. The excessive extension of the apparatus of the state and the mass organizations was a burden on the state budget. This had happened because the experience of the cadres did not respond to the new tasks arising from the expansion of the state sector of the economy, and it was thought that the difficulties created in this direction would be solved by expanding the administrative apparatus. Such an apparatus weighed heavily on the people's economy, weakened its management and opened the road to bureaucracy.

Measures in Favor of Agriculture and of Improving the Well-being of the Working People

The Party could not risk that the fulfilment of the first five-year plan should be jeopardized and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry thus weakened. In March 1953, the Central Committee decided to take a number of measures aimed at the liquidation of the obstacles to the advancement of agriculture and at increasing agricultural production. As a consequence, aid to the countryside was increased to some extent, the completion of the land improvement projects on schedule was ensured, work in the machine and tractor stations was improved and the training of cadres for agriculture accelerated.

But time showed that these measures were not sufficient and could not solve the problem in its entirety, because they did not provide new sources for the expansion of the assistance that the state could offer to the countryside as the key to the advancement of agriculture. The proportion of investments established during the first five-year period had remained unchanged; investments for agriculture had not been increased. Various quotas and taxes still weighed unduly upon the peasantry.

From this experience the Party learned the lesson that the implementation of its correct instructions for the development of agriculture demanded more profound and better studied measures, that everyone should see more clearly that the solution of the problems of the countryside was a major political problem.

Thus in the year 1953, on the initiative of the Central Committee and under its direct guidance, the Council of Ministers adopted new and important measures favorable to agriculture, in the interest of the well-being of the working people of town and countryside.

The distribution of investments in the first five-year plan between the main branches of the economy was re-examined. Some premature industrial projects were cancelled. The rates of construction of some other projects were slackened. The greater part of the investments made available from industry passed over to agriculture, while the remainder was used to increase the supply of articles of daily consumption and to build new houses.

Cancellation of all the peasants' arrears of quotas of food grains and other agricultural and livestock products for the years 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952 was announced. The quotas for the peasants on all categories of land were scaled down. Any unpaid financial taxes for all the members of the cooperatives and individual farms lacking draught oxen were written off up to the end of 1952, while they were reduced 75 per cent for those that had draught oxen. A little later another general 25 per cent reduction of taxation on the peasant farms was carried out. The prices of locally made farming tools were also reduced, while the prices paid for olives, cotton, tobacco and sugar beet bought by the state were raised.

At the same time, it was decided to increase the agricultural credits to a considerable extent and to provide agriculture with a larger number of tractors.

The apparatuses of state administration and the mass organizations were scaled down 30 per cent and a number of cadres of the administration transferred to production work, many of them being sent to the countryside.

The ordinances aimed at abolishing small private trade were annulled and measures were taken for its revival to a certain degree. At the same time, measures were taken for the strengthening of the state and cooperativist trade. Pursuing the efforts for the improvement of the living standards of the working people, the Party attached great importance to the development of light industry, without giving up the development of heavy industry, with the aim of increasing mass consumption goods. This was to be attained by relying on the full exploitation of industry, as well as by strengthening and expanding handicrafts and local industry. To best meet the needs of the village for industrial goods, the private artisan was encouraged and efforts were made to set up various trades in the villages.

All these measures were a proof of the strength of the Party, of its ability to re-examine with a critical eye and to correct its own decisions in due time and in conformity with the concrete conditions. It was evident that the Party's guiding role in the construction of socialism could not be conceived without reviewing the tasks time after time, without revoking decisions that had become obsolete, without filling in the gaps found along the road. In his time V.I. Lenin explained that socialism could not be built

> «without very many repetitions, without retracing one's steps several times, without checking up on the work, without making individual corrections, without new methods».[1]

But despite their great importance, the measures taken in 1953 by our Party and government were still measures from above.

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[1] V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 31, p. 572 (Albanian edition).

To attain the advances desired in the development of the economy, especially in agriculture, it was necessary to effect an all-round mobilization of manpower and inner resources, to raise to the highest grade the revolutionary impulse and creative initiative of the masses. That could be brought about only if the instructions of the 2nd Party Congress for a radical improvement of the Party's method for political direction of our economy were put into effect.

> «It should be well understood by all the cadres of the Party, the state and the economy,» instructed the Central Committee of the PLA, «that the great task facing us for an increase in industrial and agricultural production, in consumer goods and improvement in the living conditions of the working people cannot be successfully attained if we do not take a radical turn for the improvement of the method of running economic and state affairs».[1]

In order to improve the methods of management, the Party centred its work, first and foremost, on the solution of two important contradictions.

The first contradiction was between the inadequate technical, vocational and educational training of the cadres and the ever greater demand for the direction of our people's economy. The all-round development of the people's economy, the setting up of new modern industry and the acceleration of the rate of development of agriculture demanded a raising of the level of education and culture of the cadres, the improvement of their capacities in the sectors where they worked. It became imperative to put an end to management «in general» and to manage the economy in a more concrete manner. The increased training of cadres had to respond to the demand for faultless direction of economic and state affairs.

Another contradiction existed between the high level of technology of production and the low technical and vocational level of both the workers and the engineers and technicians. Albania was witnessing the setting up of a new industry, with complex processes of production, based upon modern technique, whereas the training of the workers, technicians and engineers was not in a position to meet its requirements. This brought about incomplete exploitation of machine capacity, low productivity of labor and high production costs.

In order to solve these contradictions, the Central Committee of the Party re-examined the training and the qualification of the cadres and workers, criticized the weak points in this respect and took measures to place them on a more sound basis.

The measures in favor of agriculture and for the raising of the well-being of the working people brought about the heightening of the revolutionary enthusiasm and creative initiative of the working masses. Socialist emulation involved over 90 per cent of the workers and spread to a considerable degree in the countryside, too.

It was not long before these measures gave satisfactory and visible results. In 1954 the plan of industrial production was overfulfilled to a greater degree than in any other year. The area under cultivation as well as the production of food grains both followed suit. The decline of livestock farming was stopped and a considerable increase in herd numbers began. Twenty-seven per cent more living space was provided for the working people than in the year 1953. The total market turnover increased over 13 per cent within a single year. Commercial exchanges between town and countryside were expanded.

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[1] Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, April 18, 1954. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 326.

All these factors brought about the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and prepared the ground for the fulfilment of the entire five-year plan.

6. STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND SMASHING ATTEMPTS TO REVISE THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY

Following the 1st Congress of the PLA and, especially, during the years of the first five-year plan, the cultural and ideological revolution spread and deepened in all directions. The level of education and culture of the working people rose. Education and culture truly came to belong to the people. The entire country was covered with a dense network of schools, theaters, cinemas, houses and hearths of culture. The first institutions of higher learning were set up. One out of every seven persons in our country was attending school. The traditional patriotism of the Albanian people had been endowed with a new socialist content. The close rallying of the working masses around the Party had been the main factor in overcoming the extraordinary difficulties that faced the country after the 1st Congress, in smashing the plans and hostile activity of the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists toward the People's Republic of Albania. On all occasions the working people of Albania had demonstrated their sentiments of lofty internationalism. They were notable for their unsullied, militant friendship toward the Soviet people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all the countries of people's democracy, for their revolutionary solidarity with the peoples who were fighting to free themselves from the colonial and imperialist yoke, and for their solidarity with the working class. Profound changes had been effected in their consciousness. A new socialist stand toward work and socialist property had made its appearance, the working people had shaken off numerous backward religious, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices. Communist morality was being strengthened among them.

However, the level of the ideological and cultural preparedness of the communists and of all the working people was still quite low. This was apparent in their work and life. Manifestations alien to communist morality, insufficient concern for ideological elevation, the low level of ideological and political work, and retreating in face of the difficulties in the field of education and culture, hindered the socialist construction of the country.

Raising Ideological and Political Education to a Higher Level

The change that had begun in the sphere of production and in the management of economy, the defense and the uninterrupted development of the victories of the socialist revolution demanded raising to a higher level the active participation of the masses in the political, economic and cultural life of the country and, as a consequence, the tempering of their socialist consciousness. The need for a more sound ideological and political education of the communists and of the working people was dictated by the circumstances. Albania had embarked on the road of socialist development in the conditions of a great economic and cultural backwardness, with a working class small in number, with a low educational and cultural level and a deeply entrenched petty-bourgeois world outlook among the working people. Albania was building socialism under conditions of capitalist encirclement, when imperialism and its agents were exerting all-round powerful pressure on the people and the Party and engaging in an extensive campaign of slanders and threats with the aim of overthrowing the people's power.

Considering the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education of the communists and of the working people as a fundamental task, the Central Committee of the Party carefully examined this problem and took steps to organize it better and to place it on a more militant basis.

The tendency to employ administrative methods instead of the method of convincing the masses was criticized. The erroneous idea that, when the Party heads the people's power, it issues commands and gives orders was condemned. Occasions when some communists in the countryside, instead of convincing the peasants to hand over their grain quota, chose the shorter road of arbitrary acts like closing the mills, preventing the peasants from carrying the products home without having paid their quotas, etc., were especially attacked.

The Party committees organized more extensive and more concrete work to explain the political line and the importance of the decisions of the Party. The explanatory work was linked more closely with economic problems, with the fulfilment of the plans of the enterprise, the village or the institution. Special attention was given to the education of the working people in the spirit of a socialist attitude toward work and social property. The class struggle — the principal link in the chain of problems for ideological and political education — was tackled better by the Party. It elucidated further the absolute necessity for this struggle and did not allow the anti-Marxist idea of the «dying away of the class struggle in the period of socialist construction» to strike root in the minds of the communists. This idea was being supported by the Yugoslav revisionists and various ideologists in some communist parties, including the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union. The class struggle, the Central Committee taught, will continue ceaselessly during the entire period of the construction of socialism. This occurs because the exploiting classes, even after losing their power, never give up their attempts to re-establish their domination, and because the international bourgeoisie has as its main aim the prevention of the victory of socialism on a world-wide scale, the liquidation of the socialist revolution wherever it has triumphed or may burst out. In this connection, the Party still further strengthened its propaganda and agitation to expose the aims of the imperialists and their lackeys and the new forms they were using to attain these aims. It made the working people understand better the various forms of class struggle while pointing out to them that one such form is theft, damaging or wasting of socialist property.

Measures were taken to improve the work of the press and radio as powerful mobilizing weapons in the hands of the Party. The system of Party education was reorganized. The publishing of Marxist-Leninist literature was extended. Along with the works of J. V. Stalin, the publication of which had begun in 1952, it was decided to commence publication of the complete works of V. I. Lenin. Special care was given to the raising of the ideological, educational and professional level of the functionaries of the Party apparatus and the principal cadres of the state and economic organs. All cadres and all communists were better activated in ideo-political education work, thus doing away with the completely mistaken and harmful idea that allegedly this work was the duty only of the organs of propaganda and agitation.

To advance the cultural revolution, the Party concentrated on deepening it further, while not neglecting its continuous extension. Special attention was devoted to the strengthening of the scientific, ideological and political content of the school, which comprised the most important means for the educational and cultural uplifting of the masses. To speed up the development of culture in the countryside, more funds and educational cadres than before were allotted.

With the training of the new intelligentsia and with the setting up of scientific centres in the country, the Party now posed the task of linking science more closely with production, so that scientific research might solve the main problems of the people's economy. Special measures were taken to encourage studies in the sphere of the history of Albania, the history of Albanian literature, and the Albanian language.

Just at this time a series of new scientific, cultural and artistic institutions were set up, such as the Institute of the History of the Party, the Institute of History and Philology, the Theater of Opera and Ballet, etc.

The Vigilance of the Party Against the Penetration of Revisionism

At the time when the Central Committee was examining the strengthening of ideological and cultural work in its April 1955 Plenum, Tuk Jakova attempted to exploit this occasion to attack the general line of the Party, while presenting his own revisionist points of view.

The self-criticism that he had made at the 9th Plenum and repeated at the 2nd Congress proved to be false; he maintained his opposition to the Party line. He was still dissatisfied with and hostile to the Party leadership and its Marxist-Leninist line. He considered that the campaign of the Party against opportunism and its measures against the class enemy were unjust. Appraising the international events of the recent years from his anti-Marxist and revisionist positions, he had started work to revise the Party line. For this purpose he had approached elements condemned by the Party for their anti-Marxist activity.

Tuk Jakova demanded the re-examination of the whole political and organizational line of the Party, because, in his opinion, there existed big distortions that had to be set aright as soon as possible! With the explicit purpose of striking at the leadership of the Party, and in particular at Comrade Enver Hoxha, he raised the well-known hostile thesis of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership that they had created the Communist Party of Albania and made possible all the victories attained in the National-liberation War of the Albanian people. He urged revision of all the assessments made by the Party since its founding on the work of the communist groups and insisted especially that the negative aspects of the Shkodra Communist Group, in the leadership of which he had once taken part, be minimized.

He was opposed to the Party policy regarding class struggle. He defended the thesis of the dying out of the struggle against the class enemy and in general tried in various ways to prevent ideological struggle and the struggle against anti-Party tendencies and manifestations, and thus make peaceful coexistence with opportunist points of view in the ranks of the Party acceptable.

In his hostility against the Party Tuk Jakova had gone so far as to use even the reactionary slogan of dividing the Albanian people into «Gegs and Tosks» (Northerners and Southerners).

Tuk Jakova openly demanded changes in the composition of the Central Committee to place at its head people denounced for grave offenses and anti-Marxist activities. At the same time, he called for the rehabilitation of all anti-Party elements.

His aims were clear: to replace the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labor of Albania with a new course like that of the Yugoslav revisionists, so that Tuk Jakova would emerge as «the savior» and «ardent fighter» for this course, as the person who deserved to stand at the head of the Party.

Bedri Spahiu associated himself with the revisionist theses of Tuk Jakova.

Bedri Spahiu had been criticized many a time during his life in the Party for pronounced opportunism and gross errors in his activity. But every time he had seen the danger of exposure, he had «demanded» to be removed from the leadership of the Party, with the aim of hiding his faults. He had always nurtured bourgeois nationalism and had on the quiet supported the opportunist and liquidatory trend of Sejfulla Malëshova and Ymer Dishnica.

Bedri Spahiu was also in opposition to the policy of the Party concerning classes and class struggle, had capitulated before the pressure of the bourgeoisie and demanded the extinguishing of class struggle. Like Tuk Jakova, he, too, was in favor of revising the general line of the Party, for replacement of its leadership with an anti-Marxist leadership that should be headed by Tuk Jakova and be composed of other anti-Party elements.

At the 2nd Congress of the Party, Bedri Spahiu was not re-elected as a member of the Political Bureau because of his past political errors which were fully revealed during the verification of Party cards. From that time on, his hatred toward the Party increased still further and he was awaiting the favorable moment to vomit venom against it.

The opportunist activities and views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu were exposed and condemned without the slightest hesitation by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party that met in June 1955. Tuk Jakova was expelled from the Central Committee and later from the Party, too, whereas Bedri Spahiu, who took a profoundly

hostile stand at this plenum, was expelled at once from the Central Committee and from the Party.

In taking this decision the Central Committee instructed:

> «. . . We must continuously increase our revolutionary vigilance and intensify our battle against opportunism and the opportunists, nipping in the bud every act of theirs detrimental to the Party and the people».[1]

Thus the unity of the Party was defended, its Marxist-Leninist general line preserved unsullied. The Central Committee prepared the organizations and all the communists to fight against the views of the enemies who sought to develop in the ranks of the Party a dangerous feeling of tranquillity and preached the dying out of class struggle.

The revisionist activity of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu was not accidental. Its roots lay deep in the all-round diversionist activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against the Marxist-Leninist parties and against the unity of the socialist camp. It was closely linked with the general onslaught the modern revisionists were preparing against Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement.

After the death of J.V. Stalin in March 1953, the revisionist elements in the communist and workers' parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, began to revive, to gnaw at the foundations of their parties and to undermine the unity of the international communist movement.

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[1] Decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, June 17, 1955. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 419.

During the first years following Stalin's death, they were engaged in strengthening their positions and getting the reins of the party into their hands by isolating and removing the sound elements from leading positions by means of slanders, intrigues and plots. To this end Khrushchev launched the campaign against the so-called «cult of the individual». The PLA, while condemning the cult of the individual «as an anti-Marxist and harmful practice», did not fall into the trap set by Khrushchev with the aim of having it revise its political line and thus prepare the ground for a change in its leadership. The answer given by the Party on that occasion was:

> «The spirit of acting collectively and of fighting continuously for the strengthening of collective work has always existed in the Central Committee and in the other leadership bodies of our Party. The Central Committee of our Party in granite-like unity leads the Party with wisdom and courage on the glorious road to socialism and communism. There is no enemy force, either internal or external, that can destroy the steel-like unity of our Party».[1]

In the years 1954-1955 the preparations of the revisionists for their general onslaught against Marxism-Leninism assumed wide proportions. Their activity was conducted primarily in these three directions: in spreading the idea of the dying out of class struggle; in coming to terms with the Titoite clique and rehabilitating it; in substituting the peoples' struggle in defense of peace with collaboration with the heads of imperialism.

As a consequence of this activity, in Hungary and in a number of other European countries of people's democracy considerable concessions were made to the capitalist elements of the cities and, especially, of the country, while bourgeois ideology and culture were given free play. Meanwhile in the People's Republic of Albania not only were the class enemies not granted any concessions, but, on the contrary, the fight against them was intensified further.

The modern revisionists saw in the road followed by the Yugoslav leaders the model for their own common road; in the Tito clique they saw their most dependable ally in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. At that time Khrushchev and, following him, the other leaders of the socialist countries began to praise highly the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, as well as «its efforts to ensure peaceful coexistence and the preservation of peace». Khrushchev tried to prove that the foreign policy of Yugoslavia did not differ from that of the socialist countries. The idea that the questions which united the Marxist-Leninist parties with the Yugoslav revisionists were more numerous and more important than those which divided them began to circulate. All-round efforts were made to prove the absolute necessity of rehabilitating the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. In May 1955, Khrushchev, without the approval of the other parties, decided to reject the decisions of the Information Bureau and the assessments of all the communist and workers' parties in regard to the betrayal of the Tito clique and to go to Belgrade at the head of a Soviet party and government delegation. Khrushchev tried to impose upon the other parties, too, his one-sided, unjust and arbitrary decisions. Just two days before his departure he informed the Party of Labor of Albania about this accomplished fact and demanded approval for the abrogation of the November 1949 resolution of the Information Bureau and the revision of that of June 1948 which exposed the betrayal of the Yugoslav leadership. At the same time, he asked the PLA to approve the text of a «decision» on this matter, which was drawn up by him and was to be published in the name of the Information Bureau, without its holding a meeting. Despite the great trust the Party of Labor of Albania placed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the PLA viewed Khrushchev's dangerous antics with great suspicion and, in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated the 25th of May 1955, expressed its opposition to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and against the rehabilitation of the Tito clique.

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[1] Report of the Political Bureau Approved at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, July 12, 1954. Central Archives of the Party.

> «We are of the opinion,» the letter said, «that there is a considerable difference between the content of your letter dated the 23rd of May 1955 and the main thesis of the common stand we have maintained until now toward the Yugoslavs. . . . The daily experience of our Party in its dealings with the Yugoslavs both before the rupture with them in 1948 and thereafter up to this day, proves in the most complete and clear manner, through many living facts, that the content of all the resolutions of the Information Bureau in connection with the Yugoslav problem was entirely correct, with some exceptions of tactical importance. The proposed procedure for the approval of the abrogation of the resolution of the meeting of the Information Bureau of November 1949 seems to us incorrect. . . . In our opinion, such a hasty (and rash) decision on an important problem of principle, without first making a profound analysis jointly with all the interested parties in this matter and, even more so, its publication in the press and the comments made about it in the conversations in Belgrade would not only be premature, but would also inflict serious damage on the general orientation. . . . We are convinced that this general line of our Party in our relations with Yugoslavia is correct, with the exception of some details of minor importance».[1]

The Central Committee of the PLA demanded from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the examination of these problems in a meeting of the member parties of the Information Bureau, to which the PLA should be invited to state its opinion.

Persisting in the decision he had taken, Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia; humiliated himself before Tito, confessing that «grave errors had been committed in respect to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav leadership»(!) and in reality rehabilitated him. This was unprecedented in the history of the international communist movement, an open violation of the decisions taken jointly by the fraternal parties, complete disregard for the other parties.

In the line followed by the Tito clique Khrushchev found the embodiment of his desires and efforts for a rapprochement with U.S. imperialism. In his speech delivered in Belgrade he openly expressed this aspiration. The Yugoslav policy of cooperation with the Western countries, he said, «finds full acceptance with us». In an interview with some U.S. journalists Khrushchev expressed his opinion that the struggle for peace is a political notion that stands outside the ambit of class struggle, the safeguarding of peace being the concern of both the socialist and imperialist states. This interpretation which he put on the question of peace in fact negated the well-known Leninist thesis that imperialism is the source of war.

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[1] Letter of the CC of the PLA to the CC of the CPSU, May 25, 1955. Central Archives of the Party.

While attempting to raise this anti-Marxist viewpoint of theirs to the level of theory, the modern revisionists tried to paralyse the vigorous anti-imperialist struggle of the masses for peace, and began to preach that the main fight to ensure peace was in meetings and talks with the ringleaders of imperialism. Under the influence of these efforts, during 1955 the activity of the international organizations for the preservation of peace suffered a marked decline. Instead of the fight for peace the revisionists were advocating pacifism.

Khrushchev described the conference of the four great powers, the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France, held in Geneva in July 1955 as «a new stage in the mutual relations between states, a turn for the better toward ensuring peace». The heads of the participating imperialist governments, he said, were «reasonable people who were trying to ensure peace». He began to talk everywhere about «the spirit of Geneva». Meanwhile the leaders of the other states participating in the Geneva Conference, first and foremost the USA, used this «spirit of Geneva» in order to demand concessions from the Soviet Union, especially unilateral disarmament.

The revisionist elements, under Khrushchev's influence and instigation, became active in other countries, too. In Hungary, Imre Nagy became a great menace to the Hungarian Workers' Party and to the people's power. Coming out openly against the socialist development of the countryside, against the principles of democratic centralization and the leading role of the Party, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu had wanted to play a similar role in Albania.

At that time, to defend Marxism-Leninism and prevent revisionism from changing into a unified international trend meant to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist line, first and foremost, in one's own party, to purge it of revisionist elements and to keep its unity tight.

The expulsion of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu from the Party ranks and the smashing of Right opportunism not only barred the way to revisionism but also made our Party better prepared for the coming struggle against the appearance of Right opportunism in the international communist movement.

The Fulfilment of the First Five-year Plan

The fight of the Party on the ideological front was closely linked with its struggle for the fulfilment of the first five-year plan.

The economic measures taken to lift agriculture from its backwardness were carried out through improvement of the planning of agriculture. The pronounced centralization in this branch had shrivelled the initiative of the farms and, to some degree, hindered the development of agriculture. Under the new method of planning, the state plan for the development of agriculture determined the volume of the obligatory quotas of agricultural and livestock products, the amount of the surplus to be bought by the state, the amounts contracted for and the volume of the payment in kind for the work of the machine and tractor stations. Meanwhile the planning of agricultural production was being done directly by each state, cooperative and individual farm in collaboration with the organs of agriculture and the machine and tractor stations, having in mind the fullest possible utilization of the soil and climatic conditions in each region. The new method released many farming specialists from bureaucratic routine and increased the responsibility of the state cadres in the districts for the management of agriculture.

The year 1955 marked an important turn in industrial production, particularly in the mining industry, an appreciable improvement in the method and organization of work at production centres, in the management of the economy by the state and Party economic organs.

The first five-year plan was successfully fulfilled. In 1955 the total volume of industrial production was 179 per cent bigger than in 1950, and 11.5 times bigger than in the year 1938. Its average annual increase was 22 per cent. In some branches of industry, as for example in the extraction of chromium ore, in the machine-making industry, the timber industry, local industry etc., the planned targets were overfulfilled. The handicraft cooperatives fulfilled the five-year plan 10 months ahead of schedule. During the first five-year plan about 150 new state or cooperative factories and enterprises of industrial production were set up and commissioned.

Important progress was achieved in agriculture. The production of food grain in the year 1955 was 53 per cent greater than in 1950.

The brisk development of the economy and the increase of industrial and agricultural production made possible the improvement of the material well-being and the raising of the cultural level of the working people. The overall volume of the circulation of commodities in 1955 was 105 per cent greater than in 1950. The national income increased about 70 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees 20 per cent and the income of the peasantry 35 per cent. At the end of the five-year plan it was decided to partly abolish the rationing system.

Big successes were scored in the development of culture and education. The network of schools was expanded and the number of pupils and students increased. Illiteracy among people up to 40 years old was virtually wiped out.

The principal objective of the first five-year plan for the transformation of Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agrarian-industrial one was, in general, achieved. The basis of the new socialist industry was laid, the socialist sector of agriculture was expanded, the prerequisites for the speeding up of the collectivization of agriculture and for completing the building of the economic base of socialism in the forthcoming five-year plan were created.

During the period of the first five-year plan the Party gained invaluable experience in the leadership of the state and economy for the socialist construction of the country. It also accumulated a wealth of experience in its activity for the mobilization of the masses and in the political and ideological struggle against the class enemy within and outside the country, as well as against Right opportunism.

CHAPTER V

THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA AND ITS STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM

(1956-1960)

1. THE 3RD CONGRESS OF THE PLA. THE DIRECTIVE ON ACCELERATING THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

In December 1955, the Central Committee decided to convene the 3rd Congress of the PLA which would define the new tasks for the coming five-year period. The Central Committee came before the Party and the people with a rich balance-sheet of successes, with a record of a determined principled struggle for the application of the Marxist-Leninist line, with a clear perspective of the road to the socialist construction of the country to its credit. In the preparatory period before the new congress, the PLA found itself facing acute problems for the international communist movement stemming from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the pressure the Soviet leadership exerted on it to impose the revisionist course.

The Revisionist Course of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in February 1956, the Khrushchev group, after three years of preparation, unleashed a fierce attack against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and against the Marxist-Leninist general line which had been followed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the leadership of J. V. Stalin.

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union submitted to the congress by N. Khrushchev presented a number of so-called «new» theses, which allegedly comprised «a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions created by the changes in the ratio of world forces in favor of socialism». These theses were cloaked with Marxist-Leninist language in order to mislead public opinion inside and outside the Soviet Union, whereas in reality they represented a departure from Marxism-Leninism, a revision of it.

Khrushchev distorted the Leninist teachings on war and peace; he elevated «peaceful coexistence between the two systems» to the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist states. Lenin taught that the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of a socialist country and of a communist party is proletarian internationalism, and not peaceful coexistence. It is

> «the alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against the imperialists of all hues».[1]

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[1] V. I. Lenin, «The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution». Works, Vol. 25, p. 86 (Albanian edition).

Khrushchev imposed on the socialist states, on the international communist and workers' movement the choice: «either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third course». Thus, for the sake of peaceful coexistence with imperialism on any terms, the Soviet leadership propagated the ideas of giving up class struggle on a world scale, of renouncing the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples against the imperialist yoke, and of withholding the all-out aid which should be given to the peoples by the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement. It made the solution of the problems of peace and freedom of the peoples subject to the establishment of friendly relations between the two great powers of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Khrushchev declared: «We want to be friends and to collaborate with the United States in the sphere of the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples as well as in the economic and cultural spheres», «our aim is to achieve a radical improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations».

Thus, on the one hand, he spread the false idea that U.S. imperialism, the biggest and fiercest enemy of peace and freedom, had given up or might give up its predatory and aggressive designs, that the socialist countries and the other independent countries would be permanently secure from imperialist aggression. But for this it was necessary to accept eternal coexistence between socialism and capitalism, since socialism would triumph on a world scale through «peaceful competition between the two systems — the capitalist system and the socialist system». On the other hand, the Khrushchev group gave the U.S. imperialists to understand that the dominating economic and military positions of the USA in the various countries would not be affected at all, that these countries should accept the division and domination of the world by the two great powers which «would ensure peace» through their close collaboration, by using all their huge economic and military resources, all the means of propaganda and the international organs such as UNO!

The Soviet leadership linked the problem of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems with the forms of transition to socialism. Subordinating the transition to socialism to peaceful coexistence, Khrushchev laid all the emphasis on «peaceful transition» and identified it «with the parliamentary road». «In the present-day conditions,» he declared, «the working class has the possibility of winning a stable majority in parliament and of transforming it from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a weapon of the true will of the people, into an organ of true democracy, of democracy for the working people»! He described the road of the October Revolution as «correct only under those historical conditions»! These theses constituted a negation of the socialist revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union openly appraised Yugoslavia as a «socialist country» where «in the process of the building of socialism original and concrete forms of management of the economy and construction of the state apparatus were being developed». This appraisal tore up all the decisions of the Information Bureau on the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and supported the Yugoslav road of the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the re-establishment of capitalism.

A still more powerful blow was dealt at the party, at the revolution and at the dictatorship of the proletariat in the «secret» report «On the Cult of the Individual and Its Consequences» that was submitted to the delegates of the 20th Congress by N. Khrushchev. This report blackened the glorious road pursued by the Bolshevik Party since the death of V. I. Lenin, calling it a road «full of errors, grave distortions and monstrous crimes». The responsibility for all this was attributed to J. V. Stalin, who for 30 years had led the Party and the Soviet State with so much wisdom and ability toward victories of historic world importance, and who had been acknowledged by the international communist movement as a great Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary. Distorting documents and using declarations made by the enemies of socialism, Khrushchev fabricated the basest slanders and lies to accuse Stalin of «arbitrary cruelty», of «isolation from life and reality», describing him as «despot», «terrorist», «ignorant». At the same time he announced the rehabilitation of enemies of the socialist order who had been condemned as agents of the imperialist states.

The attack against J. V. Stalin was a direct blow against his revolutionary work, against the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the socialist order. It had the definite aim of justifying the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union worked out by its former congresses, of having a new revisionist political line adopted and of revising Marxism-Leninism. To prepare the ground for the attainment of its aims, it was essential for the Khrushchev group to denigrate Stalin who had so resolutely defended Marxism-Leninism and had developed it further under the new conditions created in the world with the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, with the construction of socialist society in the Soviet Union and with the creation of the socialist camp after the Second World War. To camouflage his own counter-revolutionary revisionist activity, Khrushchev & Co. made use of the so-called «cult of the individual of Stalin», taking advantage of the fact that the cult of the individual is alien and hateful to Marxism-Leninism.

J. V. Stalin had been opposed to the cult of the individual and had often criticized it; he had correctly appreciated the role of the masses and had always upheld the principle of collective leadership of the Party and the Soviet State. But he had not taken adequate measures to restrain the excessive and entirely unnecessary praises the Soviet propaganda had lavished on him in the last years of his life. This fact was exploited by Khrushchev's group for its own anti-Marxist and anti-socialist aims, by fabricating the so-called «cult of the individual of Stalin» as its principal weapon in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchev and his group declared their revisionist course to be the general line of the international communist movement and resorted to every means to make it obligatory on all the communist and workers' parties.

The conclusions of the 20th Congress became the ideological nourishment for the revisionists of all countries. They were powerful weapons placed in the hands of the imperialists and all reactionaries to fight against the socialist countries, against communism, against the revolutionary liberation movement. Encouraged by these conclusions, the enemies of communism launched a furious campaign against Marxism-Leninism, especially against the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They directed their attack especially against the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in the other countries, as well as against the communist parties in capitalist countries. In this respect, the Yugoslav revisionists claim special distinction. They said that the course of the 20th Congress was in conformity with the road they had been following for quite some time. A tense situation was being created in the international communist movement.

Defeat of Attempts to Revise the Line of the PLA

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union encouraged and set in motion the anti-Party and hostile elements in Albania, too. Great hopes were aroused among them that at last the time had come to change the Marxist-Leninist course of the PLA and for them to regain their lost positions, i.e., to start the same process as that going on in the Soviet Union and in certain countries of people's democracy. The Tito clique directly assisted these elements, especially through the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Under its guidance, the organization of an underground counter-revolutionary movement was commenced, aimed at changing the situation and seizing the reins of the Party and the people's power. A number of Party members who had been punished for grave offenses, and some secret agents of the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists were included in this movement. The anti-Party and hostile elements more than anyone else publicized the 20th Congress, trying to create a favorable atmosphere for the revision of the Marxist-Leninist political line of our Party and for the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and many other enemies of the Party and the people. They played down the political and economic successes attained under the guidance of the Party, speaking of the existence of «the cult of the individual», of violation of «Leninist norms», of «a harsh stand toward the kulaks and other class enemies», of «hesitation and procrastination in the improvement of relations with Yugoslavia». They called these «consequences of the erroneous viewpoints and practice of J. V. Stalin» and put forward the need for the liquidation of this line, for measures against those responsible who had permitted such things. In Tirana the anti-Party elements also took advantage of the lack of vigilance and other

pronounced weaknesses within the Party Committee of the city of Tirana.

The revisionists used the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, held in April 1956, to launch their attack on the line and the leadership of the Party. Through their representatives, whom they had managed to have elected as delegates, they put forward their anti-Marxist platform there. At the same time, they demanded the postponement of the 3rd Congress, because, allegedly, more time was needed to re-examine the line and make new preparations in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! As it turned out later, all this had been cooked up behind the scenes by the Yugoslav Legation.

By misusing the inner democracy of the Party, the anti-Party elements created a tense situation at the conference. The revisionist viewpoints were opposed by the majority of the delegates, but there were some among them who were swayed under the weight of this subtle demagogy.

The Central Committee rightly appraised the situation as very serious and immediately concluded that the enemies of the Party and socialism had a finger in this. It sent Comrade Enver Hoxha to the conference. There he unmasked the aims of the revisionists and put forward the firm line of the PLA for the preservation of the purity of its revolutionary policy and practice. The delegates fully supported this stand of the Party and condemned the attempts of the enemies to turn it from its Marxist-Leninist line. The conference forced the anti-Party elements to admit from their own mouths the aims and character of their counter-revolutionary activity. The revisionist plot was defeated.

Drawing lessons from this event, the Central Committee instructed the whole Party:

> «. . . In no way at all can the slightest slackening of vigilance be permitted, nor can we allow ourselves to be filled with self-complacency and thus leave a clear field for enemy activity».[1]

With their eyes opened by this event, the communists mobilized themselves to fight in a more revolutionary manner in defense of the Party line and for the fulfilment of their tasks.

Meanwhile, Khrushchev, on his part, pressed the Central Committee of the PLA to re-examine its general line in the spirit of the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to adopt a new line at its 3rd Congress. At the beginning, this pressure was exerted in Moscow through Suslov, a member of the Soviet revisionist group. In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he demanded, through Liri Belishova, that the leadership of the PLA re-examine, in particular, its stand toward the Yugoslav revisionists and the sentences which had been pronounced against Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and the other anti-Party elements, because, he alleged, errors could have been committed «under the influence of Stalin's cult of the individual». This demand was repeated in the most open and persistent way by the leader of the delegation of the Soviet Union who had come to Tirana to take part in the 3rd Congress.

The Plenum of the Central Committee unanimously and unhesitatingly rejected these attempts to revise the correct line of the Party and expressed its determination to continue on the road followed up till then by the PLA.

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[1] Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA to All the Party Organizations, April 21, 1956. Central Archives of the Party.

The 3rd Congress of the PLA began its proceedings on May 25, 1956 and lasted until June 3. It was attended by 670 delegates with deliberative vote and 121 delegates with consultative vote, representing 41,372 members and 7,272 candidates to membership of the Party.

The congress examined the activity of the Central Committee and of the whole Party, amended the Constitution of the Party and approved the directives for the 2nd five-year plan.

The Determination of the Party to Continue Its Marxist-Leninist Course

Under the conditions of the general onslaught of international revisionism against Marxism-Leninism and the pressure exercised by Khrushchev on the PLA, the principal problem was: on which course should the Party proceed? That of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or its own Marxist-Leninist course?

Contrary to what the revisionists demanded,

> *«Having heard and discussed the report on the activity of the Central Committee delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA Comrade Enver Hoxha, the 3rd Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania decided to fully endorse the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee as well as the conclusions and proposals contained in the report.*
>
> *The congress noted with satisfaction that the general political, economic and organizational line followed up to now by the Party has been correct».*[1]

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[1] Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, Vol. II, p. 452.

The congress firmly condemned the activity of the anti-Party elements at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana and any attempt to revise the political line of the PLA. It described as completely correct the measures taken by the Party

> «against all the anti-Party and deviationist, revisionist, Trotskyite, opportunist groups and elements».[1]

The congress reached the conclusion that the Party had applied the Marxist-Leninist standards punctiliously in the punishment of the anti-Party groups and elements as well as in its entire inner life. The decisions of the Party had found the full approval of all its organizations.

Dealing with the problem of class struggle as one of the most important problems about which the fight between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was being waged, the congress considered it

> «a mistake to think that class struggle is dying away and that the overthrown classes will give up their struggle of their own free will».[2]

The congress instructed the communists not to relax their vigilance even for a second, and warned them that there will be such elements who

> «may think that, with the change of the situation, the discipline in and the vigilance of the Party should be changed, too, and that everything should be replaced with an opportunist softness, with an easing of class struggle, that the errors and crimes that they have committed against the Party and the people should be forgotten», that «the time has

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[1] Ibid., p. 481.

[2] Ibid.

> come when, under the slogan of democracy, they can violate true democracy».[1]

This is how the congress faced up to the tense situation that was being created within the international communist movement following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Hence the duty to continue the merciless struggle against all opportunist manifestations, against the danger of rightism and to preserve, as the most precious thing, the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party.

The 3rd Congress decided unanimously and without the slightest hesitation to continue the Marxist-Leninist course which had been pursued by the Party since its formation.

A revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit — essentially opposed to the revisionist spirit that permeated the conclusions and the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — ran through all the conclusions and decisions of the 3rd Congress of the PLA.

However, the 3rd Congress did not openly condemn the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Central Committee of the PLA had made known to the Soviet leadership its opposition and reservations over a number of their theses and actions. At the same time, the press of the People's Republic of Albania was intentionally giving various assessments practically contrary to those of the 20th Congress. But the PLA in its 3rd Congress could not express its opposition and reservations about the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union publicly because, at that time, such an act would have been to the benefit of the enemies of communism who had unleashed a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The Albanian communists have always felt it their noble internationalist duty to defend the first socialist state in the world and the whole socialist camp. Besides this, at that time, the real aim that the Khrushchev group hoped to achieve with its new theses was still not well recognized.

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[1] Ibid., p. 482.

The main thing was that the Party of Labor of Albania did not make any concessions of principle in the face of the pressure of the Khrushchev group and did not make the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the basis of its line as was the case with a number of communist and workers' parties. It preserved its general Marxist-Leninist line intact.

The amendments made by the congress to the Constitution of the Party did not affect its Marxist-Leninist principles and standards. The new Constitution defined the duties and rights of the Party members more precisely. The rich experience the Party had gained in organizational and ideological matters and in the political leadership of the socialist construction of the country found expression in the Constitution.

2nd Five-year Plan Directives

While approving the directives of the 2nd five-year plan for the years 1956-1960, the 3rd Congress defined as the main tasks: **the development of industry, especially of the mining industry, mainly on the basis of the full utilization of the productive capacities in operation and by the exploitation and putting into action of the internal reserves; the rapid development of agriculture, mainly through the socialist reorganization of agricultural production; the improvement of the material situation and the raising of the living standards and of the cultural level of the people.**

In conformity with these tasks it was envisaged to increase the total volume of industrial production by 92 per cent at an average annual rate of not less than 14 per cent. The production of oil, chromium ore, coal and electric power, as well as the production of consumer goods, would develop at an accelerated rate.

The 3rd Congress directed that there should be a marked increase of agricultural and animal products, too. But it laid down that the main task for agriculture and the entire people's economy was the extension of the collectivization of agriculture, to complete the laying of the economic base of socialism throughout the country and to bring about rapid all-round development of the countryside.

The congress considered the instruction of the December 1955 Plenum of the Central Committee for the acceleration of the collectivization of agriculture completely correct and timely. All the political, economic and organizational conditions had been created for the transition to this new stage of the socialist reorganization of the countryside. The masses of the peasantry had become convinced of the superiority of large-scale collective agricultural production. Qualified cadres had been trained and the basis of agricultural equipment had been expanded. The Party and state were in a position to tackle the tasks arising from the extension of the collectivization of agriculture. The existence of the necessary conditions for the transition to the socialist reorganization of the countryside on a wide scale was confirmed by the fact that the task posed by the Central Committee in December 1955 of doubling the number of cooperatives within the year 1956 had been completed by the eve of the 3rd Congress.

Basing itself on these conditions, the 3rd Congress put forward the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture in general within the period of the 2nd five-year plan. In the first place, the collectivization would encompass the lowland areas and, partly, the hill country. In mountain areas there were to be set up mainly agricultural collectives and livestock cooperatives.

The congress instructed that in the collectivization the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasantry should be strictly observed. It demanded that the Party organizations and the government organs should use only the method of persuasion by publicizing the example of the cooperatives which had been set up. Any other method of work which might infringe, in the least, the principle of free will was considered alien and would be condemned by the Party.

The state would support the collectivization of agriculture by increasing mechanization, adding to the area of reclaimed land, extending land improvement projects and giving all-round help to the agricultural cooperative.

The objective of continuously improving the living standards and of raising the cultural level of the working people ran right through the directives of the plan. The increase of industrial and agricultural production would make it possible to abolish the rationing system during the 2nd five-year plan and to lower the prices of goods of daily use year by year. The real wages of the workers and employees would increase 25 per cent and the income of the peasants 35 per cent.

In order to achieve the best possible results in the 2nd five-year plan, the 3rd Congress called on the communists and all the working people to realize that

> «the place of honor, the battle front for the construction of socialism is where the material blessings are produced — in the factory, on the construction site or the state farm, at the machine and tractor station or the cooperative».[1]

Winding up its proceedings the 3rd Congress elected the new Central Committee composed of 43 members and 22 candidates to membership, thus increasing its numbers. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary.[2]

The 3rd Congress upheld the revolutionary policy of the Party and, in the spirit of this policy, defined the new tasks for the construction of the economic base of socialism, putting first and foremost the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture.

2. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM — THE MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

After its 3rd Congress the PLA found itself facing a dangerous situation in the international communist movement which had been created by the spread and enlivenment of modern revisionism.

The Revival of Revisionism in the International Communist Movement

The situation created in the second half of the year 1956 was a consequence of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A profound ideological confusion swept over the greater part of the communist and workers' parties. Taking advantage of the great prestige and authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Khrushchev group exerted continuous pressure on the leadership of the other parties for the purpose of making them replace their previous Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. It organized conspiracies to remove from the leadership of the parties all those who opposed the spread of revisionism. The Tito clique, on the other hand, made a great fuss about the «triumph of the Yugoslav course» and, where they could, intervened in every conceivable manner in order to accelerate the disintegration of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist order. The Soviet leaders and the Yugoslav revisionists co-operated closely in the anti-communist campaign launched by international revisionism under slogans of the struggle against «Stalinism», against «dogmatism», against «the cult of the individual». Khrushchev met Tito in order to coordinate their activities in this campaign, and to single out who of the leaders of this or that party was to be removed and who was to be placed at the head.

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[1] Ibid., p. 478.

[2] The title of Secretary-General of the Party was replaced by the title of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party by decision of the July 12, 1954 Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA.

Under these circumstances, the opportunists in the ranks of the various communist and workers' parties came out in the open and, with the direct support of the Soviet leadership and the Titoites, launched an attack against Marxism-Leninism. Anti-Party elements were rehabilitated although many of them were known world-wide as counter-revolutionaries.

The Italian opportunists headed by Palmiro Togliatti were prominent among the revisionists of the capitalist countries in the campaign against Marxism-Leninism. They advanced the thesis of the degeneration of the Soviet order and that of people's democracy, and put forward the need for their replacement with «an order of unlimited democracy». At the same time, they sang praises to «the Yugoslav experience». Under the guise of the «struggle against the hegemony of a single party», they attacked the unity and the common political line in the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism and invented the thesis of «polycentrism» — the creation of many centres in the movement. They came forward with the slogan of the «Italian road to socialism», a reformist parliamentary road which excluded any revolutionary uprising and any attempt to destroy the bourgeois state power. Such a road was, according to the Italian revisionists, the only suitable course for all the capitalist countries of the West.

In the socialist countries, revisionism spread and deepened in Poland and Hungary more than anywhere else. With the help of the Khrushchev group, anti-Marxist elements condemned for revisionist and anti-socialist activity and viewpoints emerged at the leadership of the workers' parties of these countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat was paralysed. The ideology and culture of the Western bourgeoisie was allowed to spread far and wide. Disguised as «cultural circles», counter-revolutionary hotbeds were set up in various cities. The aim of the revisionists was to do away completely with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order.

This situation was exploited by the imperialists who incited, spread and organized counter-revolution in those socialist countries where the revisionists had created a favorable ground and, in direct or indirect collusion with them, set about working for the elimination of the socialist order and for the re-establishment of capitalism.

International imperialism and the revisionists together organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in the Polish city of Poznan in June 1956, as well as the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in October-November 1956.

The Hungarian people's democracy was threatened with the danger of complete liquidation. The Hungarian

Workers' Party was destroyed. Betrayed by the revisionists, the Hungarian communists and working people made a desperate stand. The counter-revolution in Hungary kindled anti-communist hysteria all over the world. The socialist system was facing a grave trial.

The peoples of the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces all over the world were greatly concerned about the fate of socialism in Hungary. Soviet troops were stationed in the People's Republic of Hungary, but the Khrushchev group hesitated to send them into action to suppress the counter-revolution. Only in the face of the great pressure from below and, especially, when it saw that Hungary was slipping out of the sphere of its influence, was it finally obliged to permit the Soviet Army to go to the aid of the defenders of the Hungarian revolution. The counter-revolution was crushed.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was the offspring of revisionism. The Yugoslav revisionists, the most ardent supporters of the Hungarian revisionists, who played a special role in the preparation of the counter-revolution, hoisted the flag at half mast when it failed. Tito termed it «an uprising of the entire people», which was brought about by «the grave errors of the Rakosi regime and the hesitation to overthrow it»! On the other hand, he described the help of the Soviet Army as «savage and impermissible intervention». Imre Nagy, the head of the counter-revolution, found refuge at the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution, the Soviet leadership, which was no less responsible than the Tito clique for its preparation, tried by every means to cover the traces of its grave offense. It sacrificed Imre Nagy, whom it had itself placed at the head of the Hungarian State. Unlike the Titoites, it was obliged to call the uprising «counter-revolutionary», as it was in fact. However, it blamed the «dogmatists» and not those who really were to blame — the revisionists — for bringing about the counter-revolution.

The Hungarian counter-revolution failed, but its roots were not destroyed. Revisionism in Hungary was not eliminated, it only made a withdrawal. The close collaborators of Imre Nagy kept their key political positions in the state and in the reorganized ruling party.

Revolutionary Internationalist Stand of the PLA

Without any reservations the PLA identified itself with the revolutionary working people of Hungary and raised the entire Albanian people on their feet to come to their aid with every means. Through the «Zëri i Popullit», it declared:

> «The Albanian people denounce with contempt the bloody deeds of the imperialists and fascist counter-revolutionaries who aim at tearing Hungary away from the socialist camp, at overthrowing the regime of the workers and peasants and at establishing the savage dictatorship of capital».[1]

On its part, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in a special declaration, made the following appeal:

> «In the present circumstances, the socialist victories of the Hungarian people achieved during these years must be defended with determination».[2]

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[1] Editorial of «Zëri i Popullit», October 30, 1956.

[2] Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, November 3, 1956. «Zëri i Popullit», November 4, 1956.

The PLA and the entire Albanian people welcomed the victory of the Hungarian people as a victory of all the socialist countries, of all the freedom-loving peoples.

Analysing these bitter events, the Party of Labor of Albania, unlike the Soviet leadership and the Hungarian leadership who put the blame for the counter-revolution on the so-called «dogmatists», on the «previous Hungarian leadership», put its finger on the real main culprits — the revisionists — and criticized them for the «repeated and lightning changes of leadership (in Hungary — Edit.), which had left the Party and the state without a directing staff, without a strong and trustworthy leadership».[1]

The PLA drew important lessons from what happened in Hungary for its activity on a national and international scale.

> «The tragedy of the Hungarian people,» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared immediately after the defeat of the counter-revolution, «will certainly be a great lesson to all the honest people in the world, it will be a lesson to all those who rest on their laurels and who, listening to the demagogical slogans of the imperialists and reaction, slacken their vigilance and replace it with opportunism and dangerous leniency. . . .
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> The Party and the people of Albania have never fallen and will never fall into the trap; they will not be misled by slogans of «people's socialism», «revolutionary socialism», or catchwords of some sort of «democracy» that may smell of anything else but not of proletarian democracy. . . .
>
> Therefore, today more than ever, our Party is faced with the task of intensifying its principled struggle to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen its ranks ideologically and organizationally, to deepen the international solidarity of the working people; it considers that the struggle for the defense of the Marxist-Leninist principles, the struggle based on these principles, is the only correct struggle».[1]

The acute international situation brought about by the counter-revolution in Hungary was still further aggravated by the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt on the 29th and 30th of October 1956. This act was yet another link in the general assault of imperialism and reaction against the freedom- and peace-loving forces.

Faced with such a situation, the People's Republic of Albania deemed it absolutely necessary to increase its readiness and that of the people in order to cope with the intensified imperialist-revisionist pressure. At the same time, as a detachment of the international communist movement, it considered it as its internationalist duty to make its contribution to exposing revisionism and to restricting its spread.

The situation in the international communist movement and in the world was taken up for examination at the February 1957 Plenum of the Central Committee. At this plenum Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and stressed once more the duties of the Party in its revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The imperialists and the various revisionists — Yugoslav, Hungarian, Polish, Italian and others — had spearheaded their activity against the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. They aimed at isolating the Soviet Union by detaching all the socialist countries from it and at dismembering the world communist movement. To this end, they tried to deny the universal importance of the victories and the experience of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union. The revisionist theses and decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were likewise directed against these victories and this experience. The struggle in defense of the Soviet Union under these conditions was a struggle in defense of socialism, in defense of Marxism-Leninism. For this reason the PLA deemed it necessary

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[1] Editorial of «Zëri i Popullit», November 5, 1956.

[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Solemn Gathering of November 8, 1956. «Zëri i Popullit», November 9, 1956.

> **«to defend and steel the unity of the socialist countries and the fraternal communist and workers' parties around the Soviet Union».[1]**

In the existing circumstances, the fight against revisionism, the Central Committee taught, assumed first importance. It instructed the communists and all the working people to understand profoundly that

> «under the present conditions, the struggle in the ideological sphere ranks first and foremost».[2]

The PLA declared publicly that it would resolutely and persistently defend the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism from the blows of the revisionists.

First and foremost, it was necessary to expose the attempts of international revisionism to sow ideological confusion about the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the leading role of the party of the working class, on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on class struggle.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party» delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Tirana, 1957, p. 37.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

All historical experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, teaches us that

> «the leadership of the party is a vital necessity in order to carry out socialist revolution and build socialism and communism».[1]

To deny the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party means to leave the working class without a guiding staff, to disarm it completely and to perpetuate the domination of the bourgeoisie.

Exposing the revisionists who propagated far and wide the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat or its «liberalization», the PLA emphasized:

> «We must not abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat, but strengthen it as much as possible, not permitting it to be weakened, «liberalized», not allowing confusion and disorganization in its ranks, because that is what the enemies want».[2]

It showed that those who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat reject the whole of Marxism-Leninism and go over to the side of the enemies of communism.

The Party pointed out the grave danger represented by the attempts of the revisionists to confuse the working people by spreading the «theory» of the negation of class struggle. Class struggle, it taught,

> «is an objective reality which is connected with the existence of the exploiting classes or their remnants, with the existence of the agents of imperialism, with the existence of the wide sector of small producers, with the existence of capitalist

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[1] Ibid., p. 50.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

> remnants in the consciousness of the people and, finally, with the existence of imperialism».[1]

Revisionism disguised its struggle against Marxism-Leninism under three main demagogical slogans: «for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and for the struggle against dogmatism», «for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of every country» and «for the struggle against Stalinism» or «the cult of the individual».

The revisionists, the PLA pointed out, are merely speculating with the correct thesis of the creative development and application of Marxism-Leninism in the new circumstances and the specific conditions of every country. They are using these theses to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to cover up their betrayal, to impose «specific socialism» and «national communism» on others.

> «Marxist-Leninists,» Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, «conceive the creative development of Marxism-Leninism not as the negation of its foundations, but as an enrichment of this theory with new conclusions derived from the experience of the struggle of the working class and from the development of the sciences. . . . Marxism-Leninism is a science and the objective laws developed by it are absolute truths. . . . They cannot grow obsolete nor be negated. . . . The fundamental problems of the construction of socialism are common problems, the laws of the development of society have no national boundaries. Historical experience shows that such common problems are: the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the establishment of the state power of the working class under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist party, the strengthening, in every way, of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with the other working strata, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of social ownership over the principal means of production, the socialist organization of agriculture, the planned development of the economy, the guidance by the Marxist-Leninist theory, the determined defense of the victories of the socialist revolution from the attempts of subversion by the former exploiting classes and by the imperialist states».[1]

The PLA made it clear once again that the struggle against «Stalin's cult of the individual», «against his errors», «against Stalinism» was a struggle against Marxism-Leninism aimed at paving the way for the replacement of the revolutionary course with an opportunist and reformist course in all the communist and workers' parties in order to place the revisionists at the head of these parties.

> «We do not agree with any of those who try to do away with all the positive revolutionary aspects of Stalin. . . . J. V. Stalin, as everyone knows, was a great Marxist who, next to Lenin, defended Marxism-Leninism from all the enemies and revisionists and rendered an invaluable contribution to the further development of this science».[2]

At that time our Party spearheaded its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the standard-bearer of the attack on Marxism-Leninism. But it was not difficult to understand that this fight was directed against revisionism in

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[1] Ibid., p. 60.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

every country and in every party, that the theses of the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha were being counterposed to the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's «Report on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party», which was approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee, made still clearer the determined Marxist-Leninist stand of the PLA on the major problems of principle that had arisen in the international communist movement after the 20th Congress. It served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists in their struggle against modern revisionism.

The determination of the PLA not to adopt the course of the 20th Congress, but to preserve intact its own general revolutionary line, provoked uneasiness within the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This uneasiness was openly shown by the Soviet leadership in April 1957, at the time when the delegation of the PLA and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mehmet Shehu went to Moscow at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPSU and of the Government of the USSR. During the discussions, when Comrade Enver Hoxha was expounding on the situation and the struggle of the PLA in the conditions of that time, N. Khrushchev, dissatisfied by and very much nettled at the revolutionary stand of the PLA, cut him short saying: «You Albanians, it seems, want to turn us back to the road of Stalin»! He called the stand of the PLA toward the Yugoslav revisionists «a biased one» intended to «inflate the misunderstandings with them», and demanded that they «should not be harassed unjustly»! He did not hesitate to take a number of the enemies of the Party and of the Albanian people under his protection, demanding their rehabilitation. Angered by the firm stand maintained by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other members of the delegation in defense of the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and activity of the PLA, Khrushchev threatened them saying: «You Albanians are hot-tempered and sectarian»!! «It is impossible to come to terms with you. The discussion is closed» ! ! ! This incident was the first clash between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of the PLA and the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group.

Despite the threats, the Soviet leadership did not dare to end the talks. The Khrushchev group still cherished the hopes that the PLA would give up its «stubbornness» and would submit to its dictate. One of the means that Khrushchev was to use in an effort to attain his objective was the economic aid of the Soviet Union without which, Khrushchev thought, Albania could not make a single step forward! One such means was the writing off of the credits amounting to 422 million old rubles that the Soviet Union had advanced to the People's Republic of Albania from the time of liberation up to 1955. The Soviet leadership, as it was later confirmed, did not cancel the debts from motives of genuine friendship and the principles of proletarian internationalism. Meanwhile, the PLA, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the entire Albanian people considered this help not as a charity, but as a fraternal aid, as internationalist assistance from the Soviet people to the fraternal people of a socialist country.

Neither threats nor «gifts» could shake the determination of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA to defend its general revolutionary line to the very end.

> «The defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the fight against revisionism, the strengthening of vigilance,» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared in Moscow, «are among the main duties of the Party of

> Labor of Albania. Our Party . . . will march with determination along its correct road to build socialism in Albania successfully».[1]
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> « . . . We shall not give up, even for a moment, the struggle against those who seek to revise the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, be they Yugoslavs, Albanians or anyone else»,[2]

he reiterated on his return to Tirana.

The revolutionary internationalist stand of the PLA was expressed also in the meeting the communist and workers' parties held in Moscow in November 1957.

At this meeting, the Khrushchev group tried to have the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU adopted as the general line of the international communist movement. These attempts were supported by a number of well-known revisionist elements from the delegations participating in this meeting.

Sharp struggle ensued over problems of principle about the transition from capitalism to socialism, about war and peace. The revisionists tried to present the Marxist-Leninist teachings about imperialist wars, armed uprising and socialist revolution, the leading role of the party of the working class in the revolution and in socialist construction, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., as outdated. They did not hesitate even to blacken the October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet order. In the drafting of the documents of the meeting they insisted on not describing U.S. imperialism as the principal enemy of peace and of the peoples, they did not want even to mention imperialism at all. They would not agree at all to have revisionism declared as the main danger in the international communist movement, although the events of the last two years had clearly proven this fact.

The delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha rendered a valuable contribution to the exposure of these anti-Marxist viewpoints. It united its efforts with those of the delegation of the Communist Party of China and of the other delegations that defended the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism at the meeting.

Faced with the iron logic of scientific arguments, the revisionists could not maintain their stand and were forced to retreat. The Declaration elaborated in common and approved by the meeting summed up the experience of the international communist movement and the universal laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction, and defined the common tasks of the communist and workers' parties, as well as the norms governing the relations among them. The Declaration was based on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Revisionism, right opportunism, was defined by the meeting as the principal danger to the international communist movement. It also exposed its sources, namely, the existence of bourgeois influence, as the internal source, and capitulation to imperialist pressure, as the external source.

In view of the revolutionary content of the Declaration, the delegation of the PLA and the delegations of the other parties defending Marxism-Leninism consented to leave unchanged the incorrect formulation on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as being allegedly a congress which had opened a new stage in the international communist movement. In fact, this constituted a concession justified by the necessity to defend the Soviet Union from the frenzied attacks unleashed against it by the enemies of communism and to preserve the unity of the movement.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Rally in Moscow. «Zëri i Popullit», April 17, 1957.

[2] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Tirana Meeting. «Zëri i Popullit», May 14, 1957.

Despite this, in general the 1957 Moscow Declaration opposed the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The approval of this Declaration was a victory for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. It constituted a common fighting program for the communist and workers' parties in their struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The PLA fully approved the activity of its delegation at the meeting of the communist and workers' parties, regarding this activity as an internationalist contribution. It identified itself with the revolutionary theses of the Declaration and made them the basis of its struggle in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

3. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE 2ND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

While placing the political and ideological struggle to the fore, the Party did not neglect the economic and social tasks set down by the 3rd Congress. On the contrary, it considered the fulfilment of these tasks, first and foremost, as a major political problem.

The Work for the Mass Collectivization of Agriculture

The main attention of the PLA was directed to the collectivization of agriculture on a mass scale. In this field, work went on in two directions: in setting up new agricultural cooperatives, as the more important direction, and in persuading the individual peasants who had not yet joined to become members of the older cooperatives. Collectivization had encompassed mainly the lowlands and the hilly areas. The Party organizations supported the initiative of the peasants to set up new cooperatives by all means available and did not wait for the overwhelming majority in each village to make up their minds. Cooperatives could be set up even with a minority of the peasant households.

The Central Committee of the Party specially charged all its members and many principal cadres of the Party and state to assist the peasants and communists of the countryside in the task of collectivization. The state agricultural enterprises, in the first place, as well as the working people of industrial and construction enterprises, cultural institutions and Party organizations of the towns were activized for the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Parallel with the expansion of collectivization, the Party conducted extensive work for the economic and organizational strengthening of new and old cooperatives. Of particular importance in this direction was the adoption of the new Statute of the Agricultural Cooperatives at their 3rd Congress held in September 1956. In the new Statute the fundamental rules of internal life, the rights and obligations of the members and the economic activity of the cooperatives were further improved. The limits of the personal plot of each member family of the cooperative were modified and fixed on a more equitable basis. The state assisted with mechanized implements, with cadres, agrarian credits, etc.

At the same time, the Party fought with determination against shortcomings and weaknesses observed in the work of collectivization. It combatted the erroneous tendency of a number of peasants and a few communists of the countryside to agree to the setting up of cooperatives in the expectation that the state would supply them with bread and would meet all their other needs. The tendency to keep personal plots larger than provided for by the Statute was also attacked. Manifestations of misuse of administrative power in setting up cooperatives and of violating the free will of the peasants were also condemned.

The Party was mobilized, in particular, to suppress any attempt of the class enemy to impede collectivization. The kulaks, incited by the diversionists sent by the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, attempted to commit acts of sabotage and to cause all kinds of disorders. The class enemies came out with such slogans as: «don't hurry to set up cooperatives, the time limit is 1960», «you will starve to death in the cooperatives», and «collectivization is a trick to take the land from the peasants». Secretly, they tried to persuade the peasants not to enter the cooperatives. When a cooperative was set up, they incited its members not to abide by the Statute, they fomented discontent and tried to provoke dissension among them. They tried to sabotage the fulfilment of the obligations to the state and to hinder the use of mechanized implements.

As a result of the work of the Party and of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the peasants, the attempts of the kulaks and of other enemies remained sporadic and were defeated. They were completely isolated and exposed. Collectivization went ahead in the way and at the pace determined by the Party. The battle for collectivization, especially the struggle against the class enemies, tempered still further the political consciousness of the peasantry and bound it still tighter to the Party. The movement for the collectivization of agriculture became a great patriotic cause.

From the very beginning of the mass collectivization of agriculture, the Party noticed a harmful manifestation in connection with livestock farming. On the one hand, a considerable number of peasants, prompted by their

personal interests, hesitated to sell their surplus productive livestock to the cooperatives. Often they would slaughter or sell their livestock before joining. Thus, the majority of the new cooperatives owned very limited collective herds. On the other hand, the Party committees failed to show the same interest in the collectivization of livestock as they did in that of the land. As a consequence, when the area of the cultivated land collectivized was over 30 per cent, the number of cows was only 6 per cent, and that of sheep and goats 10 per cent.

Such a state of affairs in livestock farming damaged the people's economy and the cause of the socialist organization of agriculture. To put an end to this situation, special measures were taken to speed up the collectivization of livestock parallel with that of the land and to develop and improve animal husbandry, especially of sheep and cattle.

At the same time, the Party drew other lessons, too, from the experience of the first year of extensive collectivization of agriculture. It combatted manifestations of self-satisfaction that cropped up among quite a number of communists and instructed that one should not become intoxicated with success. Measures were taken to better publicize and generalize the experience of collectivization. In particular, improvements were made in the help extended by the state to the cooperatives through the machine and tractor stations, the state agricultural enterprises, agrarian credits, the supply of selected seeds and pedigree stock. The planting of fruit and olive trees and grapevines to strengthen the cooperative economies made big strides in the year 1957.

While examining the problem of a more rapid improvement and increase of the cadres for the entire people's economy, the Central Committee gave particular consideration to the training of cadres for socialist agriculture. Other communists and agricultural specialists who worked in state administration organs and the Party apparatus were sent to the countryside to work in the cooperatives.

The year 1957 marked a radical turn in the collectivization of agriculture. The area collectivized reached 58 per cent of the total area of the Republic. Whole villages had been turned into cooperatives. In some districts, collectivization included 90 per cent of the land of the peasant households. In the Vlora, Bilisht, Kolonja, Cërrik, Saranda and some other districts cooperatives were set up in all the villages.

The socialist sector became the dominant sector in agriculture. In 1957 it produced nearly half the total of food grain, three-fourths of the cotton, and 90 per cent of the sugar beet. The economic, social and cultural situation in the countryside marked further improvement. These successes constituted a firm guarantee to push on with collectivization to its final victory.

The Mobilization of the Masses for the Exploitation of the Internal Reserves

The year 1957 marked a great advance not only in collectivization, but in the entire people's economy. In comparison with 1956, total industrial production increased 26 per cent. The plan was overfulfilled on a big scale in all the main branches of industry. Agricultural production rose 15 per cent.

On the basis of these successes, beginning from October 1957, the rationing system was abolished entirely and the prices of goods were lowered. This was a great political and economic victory. The complete abolition of the rationing system and the transition to free trade, without limitations, at uniform state-fixed prices, became an important factor for a more equitable distribution of the social product on the basis of the socialist principle according to the amount and quality of the work done. The living conditions of the working masses were improved. The national income rose 14 per cent. The turnover of goods per capita of population increased 19 per cent above that of 1956. Education and health services were further extended. The State University of Tirana, the largest educational and scientific centre of the country, was set up.

The turn taken in 1957 in the development of the people's economy had its origin in the revolutionary enthusiasm that had gripped the working masses, in the better organization of work by the economic enterprises, by the cooperatives and the state organs, in the more efficient management of the economy by the Party.

Analysing the fulfilment of the plan of the first two years of the second five-year period, the Party came to the conclusion that within the country there were powerful unexploited reserves that should be discovered and placed at the service of the speedy development of the economy and culture. This problem was laid before the broad working masses for discussion. At the same time, the state planning organs were ordered to re-examine the indices of the five-year plan with a view to raising them. The discussion of the matter by the people brought to light such inner reserves as to surpass the expectations of the State Planning Commission.

Relying mainly on the proposals of the working people, the 1958 February Plenum of the Central Committee took the decision to raise all the indices of the 2nd five-year plan. Thus, the total volume of industrial and agricultural production set by the 3rd Congress was increased about 17 per cent. Considerable increases were made especially in investments and capital construction. The index for the improvement of the well-being and the rise of the cultural level of the people was also raised. The additions made to the 2nd five-year plan were based mainly on internal accumulation and reserves.

In order to carry on to the end the turn initiated, the Party mobilized its forces and the inexhaustible resources of the working people of town and country. The guiding, organizing and explanatory work of the basic organizations and committees of the Party was improved appreciably. Their composition was strengthened by recruiting new members from among the workers and cooperative farmers, from among the working women, tested in the work for socialist construction and in the struggle against the class enemies.

The trade unions increased their efforts to educate the working people in the communist spirit and to apply the slogan: «Let us turn our attention to production». They intensified the production propaganda and improved their work for drawing workers into the management and administration of the economy.

The production meetings of the workers were enlivened. New forms of emulation came into being and spread, and the creative initiative of the working people became bolder. The movement to prolong the life span of machinery, to economize and fully exploit the productive capacities spread far and wide. Many distinguished workers, disregarding their personal material interest, left their advanced brigades and went to other brigades to lift them out of their backwardness. The one-plus-two movement (every qualified worker undertaking to train two others) came into being.

The movement for every cooperative member to put in 300 calendar days of work spread all over the countryside. The workers in the mechanization of agriculture embraced the advanced initiative to extend the life span of the tractors and to save fuel.

The revolutionary mobilization of the working masses gave a further impetus to the economic development of our country. The overfulfilment of the increased plan of industrial production for the year 1958 proved the correctness of the directives of the Party for the discovery and exploitation of internal reserves.

Collectivization of Agriculture Generally Completed

The collectivization of agriculture went on rapidly. By the end of 1959 the collectivized land area reached 83 per cent, whereas the entire socialist sector of agriculture included more than 86 per cent of the country's land under cultivation. Thus, on the whole, the collectivization of agriculture had been completed. Only some of the households in very mountainous areas had not yet joined cooperatives. The directive of the 3rd Party Congress was carried out a year ahead of schedule.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture constituted one of the most important historic victories of the socialist revolution on the economic and social front. It led to the establishment of new socialist relations in production in the countryside. The collectivization of agriculture **was the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary turn in the economic and social relations in the countryside.** It opened the road for a speedy development of the forces of production and for radical changes in the social and cultural life of the village.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture proved how correct and timely was the directive that the Party had issued at its 3rd Congress for the acceleration of the rate of the socialist reorganization in the countryside.

In the collectivization of agriculture, the PLA always kept in mind the conditions of the political and economic development of the country. The forms, methods and rates of the cooperation of agriculture were applied in conformity with these conditions.

The collectivization began and was carried out under the conditions of the existence of small private ownership of the land by the peasantry. It was done at a time when the new socialist industry was not as yet in a position to equip agriculture with modern means of agricultural production. The PLA was convinced that collectivization should not be delayed artificially by waiting until the industrialization was completed, just as it should not be hastened artificially before the essential political, economic and social conditions had been created. Therefore, it was begun and carried through without waiting for the industrialization of the country to be completed.

In spite of that, from the very beginning of collectivization agricultural cooperatives relied on the use of mechanized implements concentrated in the hands of the state at the machine and tractor stations. Farm machinery for large-scale collective production in the countryside was brought from the socialist countries through commercial exchanges and credits.

The collectivization of agriculture began and was accomplished on the basis of the agricultural cooperative of the artel type. Under this form of cooperation, the land, the means of production and labor were all socialized. The incomes were divided according to the work done by each member of the collective economy.

During the process of collectivization attempts were made to use such initial forms of cooperation in production as collective farms, in which only labor was socialized. But these forms of attracting the peasants into the cooperative movement, which were to serve as intermediate links for the transition to agricultural cooperatives, were short-lived and did not spread widely in the countryside. The peasants passed over directly and immediately to the agricultural cooperatives, without using other intermediary forms.

The Albanian countryside inherited no traditions of cooperative movement from the past. Thus, the peasantry accepted that form of cooperation in production which was presented by the Party as the most suitable. The Albanian peasantry had great faith in the Party. It had been liberated from the yoke of the foreigners and the landowners and had become master of the land only under the leadership of the Party. From their own experience, the peasants were convinced that the Party had always shown them the right road and that it had firmly defended their interests. That is why they accepted the agricultural cooperatives of the artel type.

After the agrarian reform in the Albanian countryside there was no great economic differentiation between the peasants regarding the amount of land and other agricultural stocks. Therefore, when they united together in cooperatives, among the members there were no big contradictions of economic interests to make it essential to resort to intermediary forms of cooperation.

The mass collectivization of agriculture did not change the policy of the Party toward the kulaks. During this stage, too, the struggle against the kulaks went on according to the previous policy of economic restriction, political isolation and their elimination as a class. On the whole, kulaks disappeared as a class, without it being necessary to apply mass confiscation of their property. Force and violence against the kulaks was used only when they did not submit to the laws and ordinances of the people's power or committed political crimes against it.

In 1960 there were still about 1,500 kulak households, or less than one per cent of the overall number of peasant households. The kulaks had by now lost their former economic basis. Each of them owned about 3 hectares of land, 1 head of cattle and 10 sheep. The previous policy was continued against the remaining kulaks. In virtue of this policy the number of kulaks continued to diminish and their economy to weaken. Hand in hand with the policy of restriction, the Party attached importance to their re-education, especially of the sons and daughters of kulak families, without relaxing its vigilance and without hesitating to hit hard when necessary.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture and the strengthening of socialist trade made possible a very large-scale reduction of the capitalist elements in the towns. The small private merchants were organized in commercial collectives whose activity was placed under state control. The greater part of the few handicraftsmen who, hitherto, had remained private, joined the handicraft cooperatives.

At the beginning of the collectivization process separate cooperatives were formed for each village, big or small. The establishment of cooperatives on the basis of each village was a necessary stage at the time when they had just been set up, when their means were limited and the cadres still lacked experience in managing the collective economy.

When the collectivization of agriculture was reaching completion, the small cooperatives slowly became less and less capable of responding to the need for their economic and organizational strengthening and for a rapid development of the forces of production in the countryside. Under these circumstances, it became imperative to enlarge and strengthen the cooperatives, this being felt and demanded by the cooperative peasants themselves. Therefore, the Party laid down the task of building enlarged cooperatives by uniting small ones. But it emphasized that this unification should be cautiously carried out on the basis of the free will and full conviction of the cooperative

members. This was a long-term task; it could not be done urgently as a campaign.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1959, carried away by the enthusiasm of the peasantry, some districts declared that the unification of the cooperatives was the main problem of the day, the achievement of which was envisaged within a year or two. As a result, the Party's instructions were distorted. United cooperatives were being set up without a profound study of the problem and without working out the organizational forms and rules of their activity. The unification of cooperatives was being extended not only to the lowland areas but also to the mountain regions. Some enlarged cooperatives included 10-15 villages with up to 4,000 hectares of land. Some cadres thought that in this way the problem of the economic and organizational strengthening of the cooperatives would be quickly solved.

The Central Committee discovered these shortcomings and took measures to correct them in time. It emphasized the damage that could be inflicted on the cause of collectivization through the premature and hasty unification of the cooperatives. It instructed that the conditions of the cooperatives should be studied minutely and that the future of their unification should be determined accordingly.

After that, unification was conducted more prudently; it was better studied and applied only in the lowlands. In the beginning enlarged cooperatives were set up by uniting not more than 2 or 3 villages. At the same time, the state extended its economic aid to them in the form of farming machinery, agrarian credits and specialists. To strengthen the management of the united cooperatives, the Party sent to the countryside many city cadres who were elected as chairmen of these cooperatives.

The unification of small cooperatives into bigger ones created new possibilities for their economic and organizational consolidation. In the enlarged cooperatives, land and mechanized implements were put to better use and the work of the cooperative members became more fruitful; the various branches of agriculture were better coordinated, investments were put to a more advantageous use and administrative expenses were kept down. The enlargement of the cooperatives offered possibilities for a better use of the advantages created by the new socialist order in agriculture.

The collectivization of agriculture created a new economic and social basis for the formation in the peasantry of the socialist world outlook. Nevertheless, this formation could not be effected by itself and at one stroke without the educational work of the Party and without other economic and organizational measures. For centuries the peasants had been accustomed to live and work on individual economies, therefore the sentiments and aspirations of private property were deeply implanted in them. This was reflected in the deficiencies and shortcomings that became apparent in the sphere of organization and in the attitude toward work and collective property.

In these circumstances, the Party strengthened its educational work with the cooperative members to have them concentrate all their efforts on the development of the collective economy, step up their participation in production and strengthen discipline at work. Besides this, special measures were taken for the organization and rewarding of labor and for the application of the Statute.

The method of management in the cooperatives began to improve. Cooperative members showed greater concern about the collective economy. They increased their efforts to open virgin lands. The economic relations between the state and the cooperatives were strengthened still further.

The collectivization of agriculture brought in its wake changes in the material and cultural conditions of life in the countryside. In the years 1956-1960 the peasants built about 30,000 new houses. In 1959 there were more than 2,500 schools for general education, 1,300 houses and centres of culture in the countryside, employing hundreds of cadres and specialists of middle and higher training.

The 2nd Five-year Plan Fulfilled Ahead of Schedule

Hand in hand with the work to complete the collectivization of agriculture, the Party was fighting to ensure the fulfilment of the targets of the 2nd five-year plan in all the branches of the people's economy.

Without losing sight of the fulfilment of the plan as regards quantity, it centred its attention especially on the quality of production. During the first years of socialist construction, the very low level of the forces of production and the numerous difficulties the country was passing through, made it imperative that the main attention be directed toward the quantity of production. Now the time had come to pay more attention to quality, which was lagging behind. The Party viewed this problem not as an economic one only, but as a political and ideological problem also. The quality of production expresses the level of the economic and cultural advance of a country. Under the conditions of the socialist order, quality is an expression of the level of socialist consciousness at work and influences the raising of socialist patriotism and the strengthening of the people's belief in their own forces.

In December 1959, the Central Committee of the Party launched the slogan: «Let us turn our faces toward quality without turning our backs on quantity». At the same time, it directed that the working people should be paid not only or mainly on the basis of quantity, as before, but also on the basis of the quality of the product or service rendered. The insistent demand for the improvement of quality directly influenced the education of the working people in assuming a socialist stand toward work.

To put this directive into practice there was adopted a whole range of economic measures aiming at perfecting the organization of labor and its rewards. The quotas of work and the classification of the workers were reexamined. In all branches of the economy the rates of pay were closely linked with quality. A more just connection was established between moral and material stimuli, proceeding from the principle of subjecting personal interests to the interests of society. Party organizations engaged in extensive political activity with the working people to bring out the revolutionary importance of these measures, to explain the damage that was being done to the cause of socialism by the tendency observed in some quarters to run after money and the mistaken idea that «without money there is no emulation».

The measures to perfect the organization and the remuneration of labor were correctly grasped by the working people. They helped in raising socialist emulation to a new and higher level. The movement to set up companies and brigades of socialist labor came into being and spread throughout the country during 1960. Its motto was the slogan of the Party: «Work, learn and live in a socialist way». This movement became a major driving force to increase production, to improve quality, to advance technology and professional qualification, and to strengthen the socialist consciousness of the working people. This helped to integrate work in production with learning and with the socialist way of life. The movement for invention and rationalization gained new strength, too.

The 2nd five-year plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled. Its tasks were overfulfilled to an appreciable degree, especially in industry, transport, and in capital investment and construction. The overall volume of industrial production was achieved in four years and nine months, whereas the level of industrial production set for 1960 was reached in 1959. In 1960 the total volume of industrial production was 2.2 times as big as in 1955 and 25 times as big as in 1938. The highest rates of development were attained in the mining, electrical, machine-making and building materials industries. Parallel with these, the light and food-processing branches of industry were also developed. As a consequence there was a pronounced improvement in the structure of the various branches of industry. In 1960 industry accounted for about 40 per cent of the total volume of the national income.

During the 2nd five-year plan 250 big economic and cultural projects were built. New oil fields and new ferro-nickel, chromium, copper and coal mines were brought into production. The building of these projects brought about the birth of new towns.

In agriculture, the principal victory was the completion of collectivization. In 1960 the socialist sector in agriculture embraced 87 per cent of the land under cultivation. In spite of the adverse weather conditions, especially during the last two years of the five-year plan, agricultural production in 1960 was 25 per cent higher than in 1955. The area under cultivation increased 13 per cent. With the exception of wheat, yields increased in all the agricultural crops. Considerable increases were recorded in the production of tobacco, cotton and sugar beet.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production, the increase of the productivity of labor and the lowering of the costs of production were the principal factors that defined an obvious increase in the well-being and the cultural level of the people. In comparison with 1955, the national income in 1960 rose 48 per cent, the real wages of the workers and employees rose 29 per cent, while the real income of the peasantry rose 35 per cent. During the years of the 2nd five-year plan the prices of mass consumption goods were lowered 6 times, from which the people realized a gain of 7 billion 200 million (old) leks. The volume of the circulation of goods was increased at a rate 2-3 times greater than the natural increase of the population.

Important progress was made in the development of education and culture as well as in the protection of the health of the people. In 1960, one out of every five persons of the population attended school. In comparison with 1955, the number of cadres with higher training was trebled. The average life expectancy of the population reached 62 years.

The successful fulfilment of the tasks of the 2nd five-year plan established new starting points for the further development of the economy and culture on the road to the socialist construction of the country.

4. CRITICISM OF THE REVISIONIST VIEWPOINTS AND THE SPLITTING ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET LEADERS

The meeting of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957 restrained revisionism for a time, but did not stop its extension and deeper penetration in the international communist movement.

International Revisionism Spreads Further

The Yugoslav revisionists openly characterized the Declaration of the meeting as «a negation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union», «a step backwards» and «a return to Stalinism». They unleashed a fierce campaign

against its revolutionary content and quickly counterposed to it their 1958 anti-Marxist «program» which was presented as an «international manifesto».

Meanwhile, the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev disregarded the revolutionary conclusions of the joint Declaration and continued to propagate and apply the revisionist conclusions of the 20th Congress. It missed no opportunity to draw ever nearer to and establish closer collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. Khrushchev described the president and the top officials of the USA as «reasonable men» who «sincerely wanted peace and collaboration with the Soviet Union». He proclaimed world-wide that under present conditions any kind of war was unjust and inhuman. He demanded that the UNO put into effect «general and complete disarmament» of every country and of all peoples, excepting only the police which were «to preserve order»(!) and the «international armed forces» that would be created by the UNO, no doubt, in order to suppress people's wars and uprisings. He began to spread the false idea that as early as 1960 there would be «a new world without weapons, without armies, without wars»!

But Khrushchev's policy had a demagogical, eclectic and contradictory character — a feature of every kind of revisionism. On the one hand, he praised the USA and demanded close collaboration with it, on the other, he attacked it as an aggressor and world gendarme. At one time, he would call the U.S. president «a friend», «a great man», «reasonable» and «peace-loving», at another time, «a hangman» and «a man who could not even run a kindergarten». On one occasion, he would praise Tito and the Yugoslav experience to the skies, on another he would call Yugoslav revisionism «the Trojan horse» and Tito a person «who is out of step with the rest of the platoon». Likewise, he felt obliged to half-heartedly condemn the anti-Marxist program of the Yugoslav League of Communists (YLC). In this way the Khrushchev group went down the road to revisionism, trying to confuse the minds of the people, jumping from opportunism to adventurism and vice versa, while preparing the final stab in the back of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The process of extension and deepening of revisionism was proceeding uninterruptedly also among other communist and workers' parties in a number of socialist and capitalist countries.

The line and activity of the revisionists, especially of the Soviet leadership, had increased the ideological confusion in the international communist movement.

This situation was exploited in every conceivable way by the U.S. imperialists, who regarded the spread of revisionism as very favorable for imperialism and reaction. They intensified their aggressive activity in Asia, Africa and Latin America, turned West Germany into a dangerous hotbed of war, and extended their military bases and increased their thermonuclear military potential. At the same time, they applied the tactics of breaking up the world socialist system by means of peaceful counter-revolution, encouraging every action and point of view of the revisionists for the liberalization of the political power and for the spread of bourgeois ideology in the socialist countries.

Uncompromising Fight to Expose and Destroy Modern Revisionism

The Party of Labor of Albania followed with concern the spread of revisionism and the great danger it presented for the socialist camp and the international communist movement. It considered the fight against revisionism as one of its most important duties.

The public announcement of the program of the YLC offered a suitable opportunity for dealing hard blows at international revisionism in the sphere of its activity and anti-Marxist ideology. While exposing the Yugoslav program as an accumulation of the rotten theories of Proudhon, Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin, etc. dressed up in a new cloak, our Party advanced the slogan:

> «Uncompromising struggle for the exposure and the theoretical and political destruction of modern revisionism».[1]

Speaking indirectly about the opportunist stand maintained by Khrushchev and other revisionists in various communist and workers' parties, the PLA pointed out:

> «Only he who deliberately shuts his eyes cannot see the role that is being played by the Yugoslav revisionists in the service of the imperialists».[2]

It arranged the publication of a series of articles severely criticizing the revisionist viewpoints, bringing to light the revisionist distortions in the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and defending the party of the working class and its leading role, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary road for the transition to socialism.

While striking blows at international revisionism in the ideological and political sphere, the leadership of the PLA carefully watched the attitude and activity of N. Khrushchev and his group. It saw that they were moving further and further away from the Marxist-Leninist principles and daily coming closer and closer to the U.S. imperialists and Titoite revisionists. The process of recognizing revisionism was being deepened continuously. The leadership of the PLA began to have ever more doubts and reservations about the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchev. This helped a great deal in preventing the Party falling into any of the traps laid by Khrushchev to break it and drag it on to the revisionist road. The Soviet leadership nurtured vain hopes that things would change after the signing of an agreement to advance new credits to the People's Republic of Albania for the 3rd five-year plan, and especially so after the visit of Khrushchev to Albania in May 1959.

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[1] See the Decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, June 20, 1958. Central Archives of the Party and «Zëri i Popullit», June 22, 1958.

[2] «Modern Revisionism Must Be Fought Against Mercilessly Until It Is Completely Destroyed Theoretically and Politically», «Zëri i Popullit», June 22, 1958.

Contrary to the insistent demands of the Soviet leadership to follow its revisionist course, the PLA firmly pursued its own Marxist-Leninist line and intensified its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and modern revisionism in general.

At the same time, the Central Committee of the PLA protested to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over certain anti-Albanian acts of Khrushchev. One such protest was in connection with the talks held between the Soviet Prime Minister and the reactionary Greek politician Venizelos. Khrushchev had alleged that during his visit to Albania he had seen Greeks in Korça, and he had not disparaged the chauvinist demand for the «autonomy of Northern Epirus». Another protest was made when the Soviet Ambassador to Belgrade accepted the slanders and abuses of the People's Republic of Albania unleashed at a meeting by the Yugoslav revisionist leader Rankovich.

All these things showed the ever increasing opposition of the PLA to the anti-Marxist stand of the Khrushchev group.

In spite of all this, up to the first half of 1960, the ideological differences between the PLA and the Soviet leadership were not made public nor were they extended to the state relations between the two countries.

At the same time, the PLA maintained continuous vigilance to foil the plans and the hostile activity of the U.S. imperialists and those of the Titoite clique against the People's Republic of Albania. In the summer of 1960 a clandestine anti-state organization, made up of old agents of foreign intelligence services who had managed to worm their way into the organs of the Party, the state administration and the army, was discovered and wiped out. This smashed the plot to organize a counter-revolutionary uprising coordinated with armed intervention by the U.S. 6th Fleet, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the plan of the Soviet revisionist leadership, who knew about this plot, supported it, and intended to exploit it for their own purposes, was also foiled.

The PLA's Principled Marxist-Leninist Stand at the Bucharest Meeting

The Khrushchev revisionist group attempted a decisive blow against the international communist movement with a sudden stab in the back at the meeting held in Bucharest in June 1960 of the delegations of the communist and workers' parties that had attended the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

According to a previous agreement, this should have been only to discuss and decide jointly on the date and the place of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world.

The delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo found itself unexpectedly faced with an international gathering organized by Khrushchev which had an entirely different character. A meeting of this nature was unexpected also for the delegation of the Communist Party of China and for the majority of the representatives of the other parties. But still more surprising and extremely disquieting was the distribution by the Soviet delegation, a few hours prior to the meeting, of a document containing slanderous attacks and accusations against the Communist Party of China. Khrushchev did his utmost to have the meeting discuss those calumnies, to have the Communist Party of China condemned and expelled from the international communist movement.

The atmosphere in the meeting was very tense. The representatives of the various parties were at a loss what to say and what stand to take. The delegation of the Chinese Communist Party rejected the slanderous accusations. The Central Committee of the PLA, having been informed immediately by its delegation, considered that the situation was very serious and came to the correct conclusion that the socialist camp and the international communist movement were faced with a major conspiracy hatched by Khrushchev. Acceptance of the slanderous accusations of the Soviet leadership against the Communist Party of China would have brought catastrophic consequences. In line with the instructions of the Central Committee of our Party, Comrade Hysni Kapo took a clear-cut stand against discussing at the meeting the question of the so-called «errors» of the Chinese Communist Party and against its condemnation. He described the Bucharest meeting as insufficiently prepared and contrary to the rules of procedure of the communist and workers' parties. The delegation of the PLA pointed out that the differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China could not be judged properly upon the material presented by only one of the parties concerned. In order to form a judgment on them it was essential to hear what the Chinese comrades had to say. These differences should have been discussed first between the two parties. If they remained unsolved, they could be taken up at a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries. Later the decisions of this meeting should be discussed at an international conference with the participation of all the Marxist-Leninist parties of the world which would be summoned according to the rules of procedure.

This principled stand of the delegation of the PLA was supported by a number of delegations. Meanwhile, Khrushchev called this stand an act of «rebellion» by the PLA, which he attacked sharply. Despite its persistent efforts at the Bucharest meeting, the Soviet leadership did not succeed in expelling the Communist Party of China from the international communist movement. It was decided there to summon a meeting of all the communist and workers' parties in November 1960. A special commission was charged with making preparations for it. The commission was composed of representatives from 26 parties, the Party of Labor of Albania included.

The international plot organized by the Khrushchev revisionist group failed. In Bucharest it suffered its first defeat. This was a defeat for modern revisionism as a whole, which, from that time, began to decline.

It was now quite clear that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union headed by Khrushchev was a clique of traitors and constituted a grave danger to Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

The Central Committee of the PLA evaluated the stand of its delegation in Bucharest as a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. It informed the entire Party of the proceedings at the Bucharest meeting and of the plot engineered by N. Khrushchev. The basic organizations of the Party unanimously supported the stand taken by the delegation of the PLA at that meeting.

The Firm Stand of the PLA Toward the Attacks of the Soviet Leadership

Immediately after the Bucharest meeting, a fierce attack was launched against the PLA to force it to its knees and compel it to support the revisionist line and splitting activities of the Soviet leadership.

The blows were struck in many directions. The Central Committee of the PLA was made its prime target. The Soviet leadership tried to split it, to subjugate it, and at all costs to have it denounce its own stand at Bucharest and take measures against the «instigators». The Soviet leadership needed such a denunciation not only for the purpose of overturning the situation in Albania, but also with the aim of attaining at the coming meeting of the communist and workers' parties what it had failed to attain in Bucharest.

To this end the Khrushchev group used Liri Belishova, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA, who was obsessed with morbid petty-bourgeois ambition and with pronounced sentiments of careerism. Worked upon in Moscow and incited by the same group, she placed herself in opposition to the line of the Party, becoming the pedlar of the anti-Marxist line of the Soviet leadership. But her efforts encountered the steel-like unity of the Central Committee, its determination not to make any concession regarding the principled and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist course of the Party. Thus, the attempts of the Khrushchev group to change or shake the positions of the Central Committee were defeated.

Taking advantage of the unbounded love of the Albanian communists for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership tried to arouse confusion and have them rise against the Marxist-Leninist leadership of their own Party. It employed the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, who enjoyed great freedom of action in Albania, in order to make contacts with officers and generals, cadres of the Party and state organs and officials of the economy and culture. Khrushchev's agents expressed their «anxiety» about the «deviation from the Marxist-Leninist line» and «the betrayal» of «Albanian-Soviet friendship» by the leadership of the PLA. Later, they would ask such provocative questions as: «Are you going to stand by the Soviet Union or will you go against it, as your leadership is doing?» The Khrushchev group pinned their hopes, especially, on the cadres who had pursued their studies in Soviet schools. But all their efforts and hopes were frustrated. The Albanian communists, their revolutionary senses tempered by the Party, knew very well how to differentiate between the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian activity of the Soviet leadership, on the other. The Khrushchevite revisionists did not find nor did they succeed in opening a single breach in the ranks of the Party. It was precisely against this steel-like unity around the Central Committee that their plans were shattered.

Koço Tashko, the President of the Auditing Commission of the PLA, who had shown pronounced vacillation and had often been criticized for deviations and opportunism, followed Liri Belishova in yielding to Soviet pressure. Both of them were expelled from the Party as enemies.

The Soviet leadership extended its attacks to the economic and cultural spheres, too. Regardless of the agreements concluded between the Governments of the People's Republic of Albania and of the USSR it delayed and, in some cases, entirely stopped the shipment of goods and industrial equipment to Albania. It rejected the request for a quantity of grain to ensure the people's daily bread of which there was a shortage caused by the extraordinary drought of 1960. The Khrushchev group exploited this occasion as a means of pressure to compel the PLA to submit, thinking that hunger would force the Albanian people to rise against their Party. Khrushchev threatened the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania that he would stop sending any kind of armaments and military equipment to the People's Army of Albania, because, he declared, «You are only in the Warsaw Pact temporarily.»

In August 1960, the Soviet leadership sent a letter to the Central Committee of the PLA in which it demanded that the «Party of Labor of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should go to the forthcoming meeting in November with complete identity of views»! In other words, the PLA should give up the principled stand it upheld in Bucharest as well as its Marxist-Leninist line. Otherwise, the Khrushchev group threatened, «the spark of misunderstanding» kindled in Bucharest «will flare up»! !

Under no circumstances could the PLA accept such an «identity», which would have been nothing but criminal collaboration against the Communist Party of China and, consequently against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Therefore, it rejected the dastardly request of the Soviet leadership.

Meanwhile, the delegation of the PLA in the commission of the 26 parties that was to draft and formulate the Declaration of the general meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world was fighting with determination against the attempts of the revisionists to draw up an anti-Marxist document.

The PLA's Criticism of the Khrushchevite Revisionists at the Second Moscow Meeting

The delegation of the PLA at the November 1960 Moscow meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At this meeting, the delegation firmly carried out the instruction of the Central Committee to defend the Marxist-Leninist line. It scornfully rejected the deals proffered by Khrushchev and his collaborators to break the resistance of the PLA by promising greater economic aid and by the admission that «a mistake may have been committed by the Soviet functionaries».

The PLA did not yield even in the face of the new threats of Khrushchev who declared that «from now on the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union would be built on a new basis»!

In his speech delivered at the Moscow meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward the principled view of the PLA on the main problems over which the differences had arisen. He dwelt especially on the problems of war and peace, of peaceful coexistence, of the roads of transition to socialism, on the question of Stalin, the question of Yugoslav revisionism and the danger of modern revisionism for the international communist movement, on the relations between the communist and workers' parties.

Directly criticizing the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev as well as the other revisionists who were spreading false ideas about a change in the nature of imperialism as a result of the new ratio of forces in the world in favor of socialism, and about the alleged possibility of coming to terms and collaborating with U.S. imperialism for the creation of «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars», Comrade Enver Hoxha declared:

> «The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that imperialism, first of all U.S. imperialism, has changed neither its skin, nor its nature. It is aggressive, it will be aggressive, while even a single tooth remains in its mouth. . . . It may plunge the world into a war. Therefore we . . . continue to insist that it should be made clear to the peoples that there can be no absolute guarantee that there will be no world war until after socialism has triumphed throughout the entire world or in the greatest number of the countries of the world».[1]
> «Whoever does not see this is blind, whoever sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism».[2]

Considering the preservation and the consolidation of peace as a very important task, the delegation of the PLA expressed the conviction that this duty could not be fulfilled through useless talk with the heads of imperialism, cajoling and making concessions to the U.S. imperialists and capitulating to their pressure. It would be fulfilled only through determined political and ideological struggle to foil the aggressive imperialist plans, continuously increasing the vigilance and the revolutionary impetus of the masses and mercilessly condemning every opportunist stand, every point of view and action which aimed at lulling the peoples to sleep, every tendency toward moral disintegration and soft living. In order to make it impossible for the imperialists to launch a new world war, it was necessary to face them with all the economic, military, moral and political power of the socialist camp, the strength of the international working class, the national-liberation movements and all the freedom-loving countries and peoples of the world.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech at the Moscow Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960. Central Archives of the Party.

[2] Ibid.

At a time when it was imperative for the military power and preparedness of the socialist camp to be at its highest level, the PLA deemed it entirely out of place and condemned the insistence of the Khrushchev group on keeping the secret of the atomic bomb from the socialist countries and its unwillingness to equip the armies of these countries with nuclear weapons.

> «Why shouldn't China have the atomic bomb?» asked Comrade Enver Hoxha. «We are of the opinion that she should have it. . . . We have the atomic bomb to defend ourselves. It is fear that guards the vineyards, goes a saying of our people. The imperialists should be afraid of us, and terribly afraid at that».[1]

Further on he criticized the revisionists for their opportunist interpretation and application of the question of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems. He described as anti-Marxist the stand of the Soviet leadership which presented peaceful coexistence as a general line of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries. Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed the view of the PLA that the policy of peaceful coexistence between states of different systems constitutes only one of the aspects of the foreign policy of the socialist countries. The two other and more important aspects of this policy are: fraternal collaboration and mutual aid among socialist countries, and unreserved support and aid to the revolutionary liberation struggle of the working masses of the oppressed peoples against imperialism and reaction.

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[1] Ibid.

By following a policy of coexistence on any terms, of conciliation and collaboration with imperialism, the Khrushchev group had in fact rejected the class struggle. In practice, the revisionists extended coexistence between states with different social systems to the relations between exploiting and exploited classes within the capitalist countries, and to those between the dependent and colonial countries and the imperialist powers.

> «Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «does not mean, as the modern revisionists claim, giving up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle should continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology should be further intensified. While constantly fighting to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence, making no concessions of principle to imperialism, the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as well as the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries should be developed further».[1]

The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania was of the opinion that the communist and workers' parties of the capitalist countries should have as their main task to arouse the masses against imperialism and all its lackeys within their countries in order to make life impossible for them, to disrupt their economic and military bases, to undermine their rule, to destroy their state power of political oppression and to establish a new people's state power. This state power should be strengthened and developed as a dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can the transition to socialism be ensured.

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[1] Ibid.

The problem as to what road should be followed in order to establish the people's power and to pass over to socialism was clear to the Marxist-Leninists, while Khrushchev, as Comrade Enver Hoxha brought to light, distorted and confused this issue in the direction that pleased the opportunists.

> «So far, no people, no proletariat, no party has seized power without bloodshed and without violence. . . .
>
> Our Party thinks that on this problem we should be prepared to follow both roads, especially that of seizing power by violence, because if we are well prepared from this point of view, the first possibility (the peaceful road — Edit.) has a better chance of success».[1]

In connection with the question of Stalin, Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized the Khrushchev group for not presenting this question correctly, in an objective and Marxist-Leninist manner, at the 20th Congress, for unjustly condemning Stalin and his work. This question concerned the entire international communist movement and not only the Soviet Union. Therefore, the condemnation of Stalin at the 20th Congress, without prior consultation with the other fraternal parties, was an arbitrary decision and grave blunder.

> «The Party of Labor of Albania . . . was not and will never be convinced on the issue of the condemnation of Comrade Stalin in the manner and form in which it was done.
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> The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that it is neither correct, normal, nor Marxist to

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[1] Ibid.

> wipe out the name and the great work of Stalin for the whole of that epoch, as is being done. The fine and immortal work of Stalin should be defended by all of us. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward».[1]

In order to defend Marxism-Leninism, to preserve the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the PLA considered it imperative to fight and expose modern revisionism to the very end. Comrade Enver Hoxha underlined that

> «the three years that have passed since the Moscow Conference have fully verified that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and the socialist camp, avowed enemies of socialism and the working class».[2]

He criticized the Soviet leadership for failing to apply the 1957 Moscow Declaration, for not condemning the Yugoslav revisionist group as it was stipulated there, for having come to terms with and rehabilitating it. The PLA expressed its firm opinion that J. V. Stalin had not been mistaken but had been completely correct in his evaluation of the Yugoslav revisionists. They comprised a very dangerous agency of imperialism, therefore a merciless ideological and political struggle should be continued against them. The PLA was in a better position to confirm this evaluation, because more than anyone else it had experienced on its own back the hostile activity of the Titoites coordinated with the activity of the U.S. imperialists.

But revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, was to be found not only in Yugoslavia. It was spreading

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

in a most disquieting way among other parties as well. For this reason the definition which the 1957 Moscow Declaration had made of modern revisionism as the main danger was correct and should remain in force until this danger was completely eliminated. Consequently, the demand of the Khrushchev group that modern revisionism should be considered as already exposed and defeated was absolutely mistaken and was aimed at covering up Khrushchevite revisionism which was far more dangerous than the Yugoslav brand of revisionism. After demonstrating, from facts, that the counter-revolution in Hungary was prepared by the Hungarian and Yugoslav revisionists with the knowledge and direct support of the Soviet leadership, after pointing out that the disturbing events in Poland, in other socialist countries and in quite a number of communist and workers' parties were the consequence of the spread of revisionism, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed the participants of the meeting as follows:

> «We ask why are these things happening in the international communist movement, in our camp, following the 20th Congress? Do they perhaps happen because the leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic, pessimistic?
>
> Such a thing should be of deep concern to us and we must look for the cause of the disease and cure it. Certainly the disease cannot be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back nor by noting in the Declaration that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim».[1]

A source of especially great concern was the plot hatched by the Khrushchev group in Bucharest against the Communist Party of China and the hostile activity it had begun to engage in against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania since that meeting. Such acts constituted a direct danger to the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. In connection with this, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a sharp principled criticism of the Soviet leadership.

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[1] Ibid.

> «The Party of Labor of Albania is unanimously of the opinion that the Soviet comrades made a grave blunder in Bucharest, they unjustly condemned the Communist Party of China. . . . The Bucharest meeting should, under no circumstances, be forgotten but must be severely condemned as a stain on the international communist movement».[1]

The delegation of the Party of Labor of Albania pointed out that later the Soviet leadership, fully conscious of what they were doing, had further deepened the grave error they had committed in Bucharest. The Albanian delegation informed the meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the ferocious fascist-type attack the Khrushchev group had launched against the PLA to force the latter to follow the erroneous course and to support the anti-Marxist stand of the Soviet leadership against the Communist Party of China. To attain this end, Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders continued their pressure on the delegation of the PLA in Moscow, acting like true black marketeers. At the very first meeting our delegation was faced with the alternative: «Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the USSR — Edit.) or with the 650 millions (the People's Republic of China — Edit.)»!!, either «it must accept peaceful coexistence, or a single U.S. atomic bomb would suffice to wipe Albania and its population right out»! ! Not even a representative of

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[1] Ibid.

imperialism had offered such alternatives and made such threats to the Albanian people. When they failed to attain anything out of these threats, Khrushchev declared to the Chinese delegation: «We have lost Albania, and you have gained it»! Later, on the eve of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties, the Soviet leadership distributed to all the delegations materials full of calumnies and lies against the Communist Party of China, in which the PLA was accused of «departing from Marxism-Leninism» and of «anti-Sovietism».

Comrade Enver Hoxha, informing the meeting about these profoundly anti-Marxist acts by the Khrushchev group, addressed the latter as follows:

> «What are these monstrous accusations, this «dealers» treatment of our Party, our people and our socialist country, which, it seems, can be lost or won as in a card game? . . . You consider Albania as a trading token. . . . There was a time when Albania was considered a trading token, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania would exist or not, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. . . .
>
> You, Comrade Khrushchev, raised your hand against our small people and the Party of Labor of Albania, but we are convinced that the Soviet people, who have shed their blood for the freedom of our people, too, that the great party of Lenin, are not in accord with this activity of yours».[1]

The delegation of the PLA explained that, in its severe but principled criticism against the Soviet leadership, it intended only to preserve the unity of the international communist movement and socialist camp. Unity could not be preserved without laying bare errors and evil manifestations, without severely condemning them and correcting them on a Marxist-Leninist basis. To those trying to silence the Party of Labor of Albania and to force it to submit to their erroneous course, Comrade Enver Hoxha replied:

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[1] Ibid.

> «. . . Let no one think that, because Albania is small and the Party of Labor is small, Albania and its Party of Labor should do what someone else says, when they are convinced that that someone else is mistaken. . . .
>
> Marxism-Leninism has given us the right to have our say and no one can take this right away from us, neither through political or economic pressure, nor through threats or epithets that may be hurled at us».[1]

It was at this meeting of the communist and workers' parties that the crystallization of the two opposing lines in the international communist movement — the Marxist-Leninist line and the revisionist line — became still more apparent.

The struggle between these two lines had become unavoidable although at this meeting the Soviet leadership tried to avert the strife that had broken out in the editing commission. In Khrushchev's speech and in the speeches of a number of heads of delegations there was no mention of any kind of contradictions or differences in the international communist movement, as if none existed at all. The Khrushchevite revisionists aimed thus at concealing the existence of the two opposing lines so as to prevent the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania from having their right of reply to the calumnies contained in the Soviet materials distributed on the eve of the meeting. In this way they wanted to avoid any criticism against the revisionist viewpoints and the divisive and destructive activity of the Khrushchev group, to put the blame for the differences on the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. But this tactic met with complete failure. After the criticism by the Albanian and Chinese delegations, the struggle between the two lines in the international communist movement flared up very fiercely.

The representatives of all the parties were obliged to express their stand one way or the other on the problems under discussion. At this point, the revisionists attempted to distract the attention of the participants of the meeting from the problems of principle and to turn the meeting into a platform of base attacks against the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania. But this attempt failed, too. Many of the delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties supported the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania in defense of the revolutionary line of proletarian internationalism. The revisionists were forced to retreat.

The Declaration approved by the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties of the world, in general, embodied the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles. The attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists to impose their revisionist line upon the international communist movement was foiled. The Marxist-Leninist line scored yet another victory.

The definition of the content of our epoch made by the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties in 1957 as a «period of transition from capitalism to socialism» was supplemented in the new Declaration as follows:

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[1] Ibid.

> «Our epoch, the principal content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the October Socialist Revolution, is the epoch of the struggle between the two opposing social systems, the epoch of socialist revolutions and of national-liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of the liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of the transition of the other peoples to the road to socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale».[1]

Thus, the revisionists were deprived of the possibility of speculating with the incomplete definition of the content of our epoch, and of presenting it as an epoch of peaceful coexistence and of economic competition without revolutions and wars of liberation.

A series of revisionist theses which were included in the draft presented by the Soviet leadership and applied by them in practice were also rejected. Such theses were: «peaceful coexistence is the general line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries»; «the possibilities for the peaceful transition to socialism are constantly on the increase»; «in the present period it is possible to prevent all wars», etc.

In the Declaration of the meeting, against the wishes of the Khrushchevite revisionists, it was clearly defined that: — the nature of imperialism has not changed and remains the basis of aggressive wars; — the principal force of aggression and war is U.S. imperialism; — it is at the same time the citadel of world reaction and international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the entire world; — in order to avoid a world war it is necessary to arouse all the peoples in struggle against imperialism, dealing the main blow at U.S. imperialism and setting up a common anti-imperialist front; — the national-liberation wars constitute an important force for the prevention of a world war; — these wars should have the all-round support of the socialist countries, of the international communist and workers' movement; — all the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent, equal; — by means of consultations they work out their common views and coordinate their actions in the struggle for the same purpose, etc.

The repeated efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to put aside the definition of revisionism as the main danger, as was said in the 1957 Declaration, were defeated. This definition remained in the new Declaration. In addition:

> «the communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav form of international opportunism, which is a concentrated expression of the theories of modern revisionism. After having betrayed Marxism-Leninism . . . the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists detached their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on the so-called «aid» of the U.S. and other imperialists. . . . The further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and the active struggle to protect the communist movement as well as the workers' movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remains an imperative task for the Marxist-Leninist parties».[1]

However, the Declaration reflected some incorrect assessments, such as the evaluation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was left as it was in the 1957 Declaration, as well as some other erroneous theses. The PLA was entirely opposed to such evaluations and erroneous theses, and openly expressed its viewpoints at the meeting. The delegation of the PLA signed the Declaration on the basis that in general its content was correct. For the sake of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement it conceded some incorrect assessments.

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[1] The Declaration of the Meeting of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

[1] Ibid.

The activity of the delegation of the PLA at the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties was fully and unanimously approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee. It assessed the stand of the delegation as «determined and principled», and the speech and the entire activity as «very positive and useful».

While reporting to the entire Party on the stand and activity of the delegation, the Central Committee also explained the reasons for and the aims of the sharp, principled and comradely criticism which it had made of the Soviet leadership at the meeting. Through such criticism the PLA aimed at putting an end once and for all to the splitting activity of Khrushchev and his followers, at preserving and strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. It aimed also at putting a stop to the intervention of the Soviet leadership in the internal affairs of the PLA, at eliminating the differences and, as a consequence, at strengthening the fraternal relations between the PLA and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, between the People's Republic of Albania and the USSR, at preserving and strengthening the socialist camp. If it had not acted as it did, the PLA would not have felt itself a revolutionary, internationalist Marxist-Leninist party. It has taught its members to be always correct, principled and courageous in the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism; to use criticism and self-criticism as a powerful weapon for the elimination of weaknesses and for advancing the cause of socialism.

The courageous, principled Marxist-Leninist stand of the Albanian delegation at the first meeting in Bucharest and at the second meeting in Moscow, in such complicated circumstances of the international communist movement as those created by the activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, demonstrated the high level of revolutionary maturity of the PLA. Such a stand served as a great example for the Albanian communists in the fierce struggle that had erupted between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. The sympathy and the support of the world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces for the PLA increased even more.

While approving the stand of its own delegation at the Moscow meeting and taking an example from this stand, the PLA assessed the determined revolutionary principled struggle conducted by the Communist Party of China as a decisive contribution to the victory scored by Marxism-Leninism over revisionism at this meeting. The common struggle and the revolutionary identity of points of view on the great problems of principle of the international communist movement strengthened the ties and the collaboration between the two parties.

CHAPTER VI

THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA IN STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST REVISIONIST BLOCKADE

(1960-1965)

1. THE 4TH PARTY CONGRESS. THE DIRECTIVE FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The 4th Party Congress was held in Tirana from February 13 to 20, 1961. Participating in the congress were 754 delegates with deliberative vote and 54 delegates with consultative vote representing 50,802 members and 2,857 candidate members of the Party.

The congress drew up a balance-sheet of the economic and social changes and defined the orientation for the new stage of the socialist construction of the country, approved the directives of the 3rd five-year plan and reinforced the revolutionary stand of the Party of Labor of Albania in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

Building the Economic Base of Socialism

The conversion of the principal means of production and distribution: industry, mines, transport, banks and trade into common property and the socialist collectivization of agriculture put an end, in general, to the multiform economy and created a single socialist system of economy in its place. In 1960, the socialist sector included 99 per cent of total industrial production, 80 per cent of total agricultural production, 100 per cent of wholesale and 90 per cent of retail trade. Nearly 90 per cent of the national income came from the socialist sector. From these radical economic and social changes, the 4th Party Congress drew the conclusion that **the economic basis of socialism in the People's Republic of Albania had been built both in the town and in the countryside.**

With the triumph of socialist relations in production, the exploiting classes, as such, and the exploitation of man by man came to an end.

> *The most characteristic and fundamental feature of the class structure in our country at the present stage is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperative peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the strengthening, on this basis, of the moral and political unity of all the working people.*[1]

The relations between these two classes were now distinctly those of brotherly collaboration and comradely help among working people freed from any kind of exploitation.

In 1960, the workers, together with their families, constituted 22.5 per cent, the laboring peasantry 62.8 per cent and the people's intelligentsia 13.6 per cent of the total population.

The abolition of private ownership and the establishment of social ownership of the principal means of production, the creation of the socialist system of economy brought about the expansion and strengthening of the material basis of the state power, of socialist democracy and of the unity of the people around the Party.

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[1] Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. The 4th Congress of the PLA, Tirana, 1961, p. 298.

The big economic and social transformations, the work of the Party for the socialist construction and the all-round educational activity brought about pronounced changes in the moral features of the working man, too, in his consciousness and attitude toward work and social property, in his stand toward society and the family. Socialist ideology became the dominant ideology in society and served as a powerful force for the further transformation of the consciousness of the people and of their material life.

The establishment of socialist relations in production opened wide vistas for the vigorous development of the forces of production and for the strengthening of the defense potential of the country.

For the Complete Construction of Socialist Society

With the construction of the economic base of socialism, Albania entered a new historical stage — **the stage of the complete construction of socialist society.** The 4th Congress defined the directions for the development of the country at this stage.

The complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism by developing the forces of production to a new and higher level was designated as the fundamental task at this stage. The first steps for building the material-technical base of socialism had been taken with the nationalization of the principal means of production and with the development of socialist economy during the previous five-year plans. Directions were given for its completion during several future five-year plans during which Albania would be changed from an agrarian-industrial to an industrial-agrarian country.

The continuation of the industrialization of the country was designated as the main link in building the material-technical base of socialism. The congress directed that socialist industry should continue to play the leading role in the people's economy. In this connection it was envisaged that in the coming five-year plan the existing branches of national industry would undergo a wide-scale development. Besides this, new branches of industry, such as those of processing copper, ferro-nickel and chromium ores, black metallurgy, the chemical industry for the production of nitrate and phosphate fertilizers, etc., would be set up. The congress issued instructions that in the main the raw materials of the country should be used for the development of industry and that priority should continue to be given to heavy industry, to production of the means of production.

Instructions were issued that, besides the industrial development, agriculture should be developed more rapidly, with the aim of eliminating the disproportion between the development of these two main branches of the people's economy. The principal task of agriculture remained the increase of the production of grain in order to ensure the supply of bread from within the country. At the same time, the congress demanded the increase of other agricultural products in order to meet better the ever-growing requirements of the population, the needs of industry for raw materials, as well as to increase exports. The continuous raising of productivity, without interrupting the work of opening up new land, was designated as the principal way to develop agriculture.

With the growth and development of the forces of production to a higher level, instructions were given to further develop and perfect the socialist relations of production.

The further consolidation and extension of social property — the basis of socialist relations — was put forward as a duty. This was to be attained, wherever possible, through the increase of internal accumulation, through protecting socialist property from damage and waste, through the cooperation of the individual peasant economies in the mountain regions, the uniting of the small cooperatives into larger units, and their economic and organizational strengthening.

The congress issued instructions for the perfection of the system of working by norms, for strengthening cooperation and assistance amongst the various branches of production, enterprises and working collectives, for improving the system of planning, the organized dissemination of advanced experience.

In the sphere of distribution, instructions were issued for the perfecting of the application of the principle of rewards according to the quantity and quality of work done, the determination of the proportions for the distribution of the national income (into accumulation and consumption funds) and their application, as well as the proportionate distribution of the funds for individual and social use.

Through the uninterrupted development of the productive forces and the relations of production, the working class would grow and become stronger, the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry under the leadership of the working class would be steeled, and the material well-being and cultural level of the people would be raised continuously.

In the new stage of the construction of socialism the communist education of the working people assumed great importance.

> «Socialism,» emphasized Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is the deed of the masses, and their active participation in this work depends directly on the level of their socialist consciousness».[1]

The congress issued the instruction that the struggle for communist education should be directed, first and foremost, at establishing a profoundly socialist stand toward work and social property, at eliminating bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts and aspirations, religious prejudices and superstitions, backward customs and habits from the consciousness of the people and at forming a scientific materialist world outlook among them.

The defense of the socialist Fatherland, the protection of the victories attained and the attainment of new victories in the socialist construction, against any attempt to damage or destroy them and to reinstate the bourgeois-landowner order, constituted another fundamental task.

In connection with this, it was made clear that the elimination of the exploiting classes in our country did not mean the cessation of the class struggle. It would still be carried on sternly during the period of the complete construction of socialist society. The remnants of the exploiting classes both in town and in the countryside had not given up their dreams of regaining their lost positions and privileges. But the class struggle within the country would be concentrated mainly on the ideological front. This was correctly described as a life-and-death struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideology, a struggle against the remnants of the past, against the reactionary customs, traditions and concepts that do not disappear immediately from the consciousness of the people, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology. The congress emphasized that slackening or cessation of the class struggle, especially on the ideological front, prepares the ground for a counter-revolution from within and for armed intervention from outside and, as a consequence, for the re-establishment of capitalism.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party. The 4th Congress of the PLA, p. 146.

It was imperative to view the class struggle within the country as a phenomenon closely connected with the class struggle in the international arena, between socialism, the oppressed peoples and Marxism-Leninism, on the one side, and imperialism, reaction and revisionism, on the other. Imperialism and revisionism exerted continuous pressure on the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people and had not renounced their intentions and attempts to overthrow the socialist order in Albania.

The further strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat was considered as an imperative condition for the complete construction of socialism and for the defense of the socialist order.

With the building of the economic base of socialism, with the elimination of the exploiting classes and with the growth of the socialist consciousness of the working masses, the socialist basis of the people's state power had been considerably strengthened and expanded, and it had been further democratized.

In conformity with the new conditions, the main functions of the socialist state assumed a further development.

Its principal function was economic-organizational and cultural-educational. In order to fulfil this function properly, the organs of the people's power were called upon to improve the method of management of the economy and culture and to perfect their planning and organizational activity.

The function of the state to defend the socialist Fatherland remained just as important as before. For this purpose, it was a duty to increase the defensive power of the country, to strengthen the People's Army and all the armed forces, to give systematic military training to the whole people.

The function of coercion still remained even after the disappearance of the exploiting classes. Coercion by administrative means was directed against the survivals of the exploiting classes and all the class enemies, against the imperialist and revisionist agents, and against those who seriously damaged social property and infringed the communist morality, or violated the laws of the state.

Just as before, in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, too, the Party of Labor of Albania remained the leading and the organizing staff of the entire life of the country. In connection with this, the further and continuing increase of the directing, organizing and educative capacities of the Party, the strengthening of its unity, its ideological tempering and social composition, was posed as yet another basic task.

The construction of the economic base of socialism, the changing of the class structure of society — the increase of the number of workers, of the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia — had made it imperative to amend the articles of the Constitution of the Party regarding the conditions for admission to Party membership. The 4th Congress removed the differentiated requirements for candidates according to their social composition and established a standard rule for all those applying for membership. But this did not mean in any way that the Party would be indifferent toward the social composition of the new members. As always, it would direct and guide with great care admission to Party membership, increasing its ranks with the most revolutionary and active militants, with those most closely linked with the masses and faithful to the cause of the Party and the people. In the future, too, the majority of those accepted into the Party would be people engaged directly in production in town and in countryside, first and foremost the industrial workers, the workers of the mines and transport, then the members of the collective farms.

The Directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan

The congress worked out the directives of the 3rd five-year plan (1960-1965) for the economic and cultural development in conformity with the orientation for the complete construction of socialist society. These directives put forward the following as the main tasks: **the 3rd five-year plan must mark an important step forward in the building of the material-technical base of socialism; Albania is to progress more rapidly in changing from an agrarian-industrial to an industrial-agrarian country; agricultural production is to increase more quickly, as a consequence the material and cultural level of the working masses is to be raised higher.**

The total volume of industrial production was estimated to increase 52 per cent, at an average rate of 8.7 per cent a year. The production of the means of production would increase about 54 per cent, while that of consumer goods not less than 50 per cent. The production of spare parts, cement, blister copper, ferro-nickel ore, electric power, glassware, knitted goods and woollen fabrics, shoes, certain wood products, foodstuffs, etc., would develop at especially rapid rates.

The production in agriculture was foreseen to increase 72 per cent, at an average rate of 15.5 per cent a year. In particular the production of grain, tobacco, cotton, olives, vegetables, potatoes, fruit, etc., would increase more rapidly.

Fifty-one per cent more funds than in the 2nd five-year plan would be invested for the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan, nearly 82 per cent of these for the productive branches.

The national income would increase 56 per cent. The real wages of the workers and employees would rise 30 per cent and the income of the peasantry, 35 per cent. Expenditure for social insurance, pensions, education and culture, for kindergartens and crèches would be markedly increased, whereas medical service would be given free of charge to all, including the peasantry.

The 3rd five-year plan envisaged a turning point in the organization of the people's education and research work for establishing closer ties of the school and science with the practice of socialist construction, with life. The secondary and higher schools were to train more than twice as many cadres as in 1960.

The fulfilment of the 3rd five-year plan relied mainly on the use of internal resources, means and forces, on the increase of the productivity of labor, on the full exploitation of all reserves, on the reduction of losses and the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure, etc. At the same time it relied also on the help of the socialist countries, namely, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and the other countries of people's democracy, on the basis of agreements which had been concluded or were about to be concluded.

Without Combatting Revisionism, Imperialism Cannot Be Successfully Combatted, the Unity of the International Communist Movement Cannot Be Preserved

The 4th Congress was held in conditions of the sharpening of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international communist movement.

Revisionism had become a very serious and direct danger to the great historic victories of the proletariat, to socialism, to Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchevite revisionism and other currents were added to Titoite revisionism. Unlike the old revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky and others, which lived on the charity of the ruling bourgeoisie, modern revisionism was revisionism in power, which had great economic and military strength in its hands. The greatest evil was that this revisionism headed the Soviet Union, the first socialist state and the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. This was the greatest tragedy the international communist movement had ever known. Their common bourgeois ideology and many other joint interests had drawn together and were ever more closely uniting the modern revisionists with the imperialists, the social democrats and all the lackeys of imperialism in struggle against communism, against the revolution. In the modern revisionists, especially in the Khrushchevites, world imperialism saw its staunchest allies and the best way to escape from the deep general crisis and complete defeat which threatened it.

The Khrushchevite revisionists threw the November 1960 Moscow Declaration of the meeting of the communist and workers' parties in the rubbish basket the very next day after that meeting. They followed their revisionist course in all fields and engaged in divisive activities, intervening in brutal form in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries and the sister parties, to impose their anti-Marxist line on them and to organize a bloc against those Marxist-Leninist parties that opposed revisionism.

In these circumstances, the PLA considered that its primary duty was to vigilantly defend and consistently apply its general revolutionary line, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to defend and propagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which were the target of the revisionists.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was being waged mainly over the big problems of world development which were raised and discussed at the meeting of the 81 communist and workers' parties. The PLA had clearly expressed its revolutionary stand on these problems through its delegation that took part at that meeting. The 4th Congress sanctioned this stand. It declared that

> «it completely approves the activity of the delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow meeting of November 1960 as well as its historic documents. . . . Just as it has carried out the 1957 Declaration, our Party will faithfully carry out the 1960 Declaration also, and will fight for its application».[1]

The congress severely condemned the revisionist points of view on collaboration and coexistence of classes with opposite interests, as well as the attempts of all those who sought to describe the present epoch as an epoch of general tranquillity and harmony, in which the entire world would pass over to socialism without revolutions, without uprisings and liberation wars. It unmasked the attempts of the modern revisionists to negate the Marxist-Leninist teachings on socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and underlined the fact that these teachings have been and remain general laws for the transition to socialism and for the construction of socialist society. In pointing out the danger presented by the attempts of the revisionists to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the 4th Congress of the PLA stressed:

> «To Marxist-Leninist parties it is as clear as the light of day that the liquidation of the socialist

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[1] Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. The 4th Congress of the PLA, p. 316.

> state or even the slightest weakening of the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its liberalization . . . would be suicidal to our socialist countries. The best confirmation of this is the bitter experience of the counter-revolution in Hungary».[1]

In the circumstances of the feverish anti-socialist, counter-revolutionary and divisive activity of the revisionists, the PLA considered that a major duty of the communist and workers' parties and of the socialist states was to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement.

> « . . . Our Party and Government have raised still higher the banner of unity, they have been, are and will always be ready to cope with any difficulty and fulfil their internationalist duty to the letter. . . . »[2]
>
> «Our Party will always fight on the basis of the principles of the Moscow Declaration to further strengthen the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, to develop the internationalist solidarity and links with all the sister parties».[3]

In order to safeguard Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the 4th Congress of the PLA considered it imperative to wage a determined struggle against modern revisionism to defeat its subversive and divisive activity. It condemned the efforts being made by the leaders of some

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report at the 4th Congress of the PLA. The 4th Congress of the PLA, pp. 155-156.

[2] Ibid., p. 17.

[3] Ibid., p. 162.

communist and workers' parties to reject the definition of revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement and the exposure of Yugoslav revisionism as a concentrated expression of modern revisionism, as had been jointly decided at the Moscow meeting.

> «Without mercilessly unmasking revisionism . . . the exposure of imperialism cannot be carried out as it should».[1]

For all these reasons, the congress instructed that

> «*The struggle against revisionism should be continued and raised to a still higher level, until its complete ideological and political defeat.* While fighting in a determined manner against revisionism as the main danger, the Party should, at the same time, fight against any manifestation of dogmatism and sectarianism».[2]

Although maintaining a stern principled stand against revisionism and unmasking the revisionist viewpoints, the 4th Congress did not openly attack the Soviet leadership for these views, for its divisive activity in the communist movement and in the socialist camp, or for its intervention in and anti-Marxist activity against the PLA and the People's Republic of Albania. The PLA had done this at the Moscow meeting, which was a forum of sister parties, as well as in closed meetings of the Central Committee and its own organizations. It did not want the differences with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of certain other parties to be made public. It adhered strictly to the rule of settling differences between the sister parties through consultations, in line with the decisions taken at the last meeting in Moscow.

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[1] Ibid., p. 159.

[2] Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. The 4th Congress of the PLA, p. 315.

The unmasking of the anti-Marxist viewpoints of the modern revisionists by the 4th Congress encountered the direct opposition of the representatives of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and certain other communist and workers' parties that participated in this congress. Being aware of the Marxist-Leninist stand and the determined struggle that the delegation of the PLA had waged against modern revisionism at the recent Moscow meeting, these representatives came to the 4th Congress of the PLA with the special mission of exerting pressure on the delegates to the congress, urging them to oppose the militant Marxist-Leninist line of their Party and to come out in opposition to the leadership.

In order to attain this objective, the Soviet and certain other representatives in their speeches raised some theses opposed to those contained in the Report of the Central Committee of the PLA. By means of blackmail and demagogy they tried to force the representatives of the other communist and workers' parties, too, to change the substance of their speeches and to oppose the line of the PLA.

The delegates to the congress were profoundly angered by this intervention of the modern revisionists; they responded with their determination to continue still more vigorously their fight in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to put into practice the revolutionary political line of the PLA and the decisions of the 4th Congress, to strengthen still more the unity of the Party around the Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

At the end of its proceedings the congress elected the Central Committee of the PLA composed of 53 members and 29 candidates to membership by unanimous vote. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary.

The 4th Congress of the PLA entered history as the congress which opened a new stage in the development of the country, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, and which prepared the Party for a general ideological assault against modern revisionism.

The congress demonstrated the monolithic Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of the Party and its determination to strengthen and safeguard this unity from any aspirations or attempts on the part of the modern revisionists. This was expressed with great force in the discussions characterized by their sound content and profoundly militant spirit, in the unanimous adoption of the reports, resolution and directives of the 3rd five-year plan, and in the election of the leading organs of the Party by unanimous vote.

The 4th Congress was at the same time a lofty expression of the profound spirit of proletarian internationalism of the PLA, of its unbreakable solidarity with the international communist and workers' movement, with all the peoples fighting for socialism, national independence, freedom and peace.

2. THE PARTY IN STRUGGLE TO ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS OF THE 3RD FIVE-YEAR PLAN. DEFEAT OF THE HOSTILE AIMS OF THE REVISIONISTS AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

The working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia immediately embraced the decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party and mobilized all their forces to put them into practice. The profoundly revolutionary spirit of the proceedings and the decisions of the congress aroused great enthusiasm among the broad working masses in the struggle to overcome any difficulties and obstructions and to accomplish the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan.

The Party has always considered the drafting and carrying out of the plans of economic and cultural development as a great political task. But in the conditions of the bitter battle between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, the fulfilment of the 3rd five-year plan assumed a greater political importance than that of the previous five-year plans.

It is only by profoundly understanding the political aspect of economic problems that the working masses will put all their abilities, creative thought and efforts into the fulfilment of the plan.

A Strict Regime of Economy

In order to accomplish the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan with success, the Party concentrated its attention on the best possible use of all the material and financial values, on establishing rigorous measures to prevent waste in the people's economy and in the entire state and social activity of the country.

The regime of economizing as a method of management of socialist economy springs from the socialist method of production. The socialist transformation of the national economy, the creation of socialist property in town and countryside had made it possible to extend the sphere of action of the regime of economy, to discover the inexhaustible latent resources of the country and to turn them into supplementary sources for the development of the economy and culture. On the other hand, utilization of the inner resources as efficiently as possible helped directly in overcoming the difficulties resulting from the capitalist and revisionist encirclement of the country.

Apart from this, the Party foresaw that the Khrushchev group and its followers would intensify their subversive activity against the People's Republic of Albania in the future. This made still more imperative the more economical and wide-scale use of the internal resources, forces and facilities.

The PLA put this problem of such importance before the working masses in order to obtain their creative opinions on it and make it the concern of the entire people. All the working collectives of the enterprises participated in the broad popular consultation organized in June 1961. They advanced concrete and very valuable proposals for raising production without additional costs. The Party organization in the petroleum industry was the initiator of the movement to work three months a year with the inner reserves, without using imported materials and spare parts. This initiative was taken up by other Party organizations and by the working people in various sectors of the national economy. It emerged that during 1961, as a result of all these measures of lowering costs of production, of cutting down unnecessary and premature investments as well as other measures, 1,700 million leks would be saved. This sum represented 6 per cent of the state budget.

The popular consultation on the regime of economy demonstrated that the political maturity and the socialist patriotism of the Albanian people, their readiness to respond to the political moment, had risen to a higher level. It demonstrated also the necessity for the state enterprises and institutions to take greater care in drawing up their economic plans so that the possibilities for development of the people's economy would be discovered and exploited better.

The Central Committee of the Party analysed and summed up the results of this consultation with the people. On this basis it defined the principal directions for strengthening the movement to prevent needless expenditure. The greatest care was attached to saving production materials by using them more rationally, to replacing expensive raw materials with cheaper ones, imported materials with local ones, without damaging quality. Important savings could be made by insuring a continuous process of production, the fullest possible use of the machinery and equipment, rational utilization of working time, reduction of expenditure in the non-productive sphere and increase of revenue from exports.

There were wide possibilities for economies and numerous reserves in the field of investments as well. In connection with this, state institutions were called upon to study and define correctly the economic expediency of the projects that were to be built, without losing sight of their political importance.

The PLA Faces the Ferocious Onslaught of the Soviet Revisionists

The Party and the working masses had hardly begun to fulfil the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan when the Soviet leadership launched a full-scale offensive against the People's Republic of Albania in the political and economic spheres, extending the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations.

The Soviet leadership unilaterally broke all the properly concluded agreements between the two countries. It stopped completely the credits which, on the basis of agreements, it was obliged to grant the People's Republic of Albania for the 1961-1965 period. It cut off all commercial, technical-scientific and cultural relations. It recalled all the Soviet specialists from Albania in an ostentatious and threatening manner.

These anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian acts were accompanied by the April 1961 letter of the Government of the USSR to the Government of the People's Republic of Albania. Among other things, this letter said that Albania «could no longer hope to get aid from the Soviet Union on the former basis, for only true friends and brothers were entitled to that aid»(!); «from now on, the Soviet Union considered it necessary to build its relations with Albania on a new basis»(!). In other words, the revisionist Soviet leadership was declaring openly what it had been applying in practice, namely, that it had renounced the fraternal relations of assistance among the socialist countries. Immediately thereafter it arbitrarily annulled the bilateral agreements in force about the obligations it had assumed in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty, suspending completely all shipments of arms and other kinds of equipment necessary for the People's Army of Albania. Before the eyes of the whole world, it withdrew its vessels from the naval base of Vlora and robbed Albania of eight submarines and other warships that had been sent for repairs to the Sebastopol docks. These acts weakened the defensive power of the People's Republic of Albania and of the socialist camp, whetted the appetite of the U.S. imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionist plotters.

Despite all this, the PLA did not condemn these hostile acts of Khrushchev's clique publicly. On the contrary, the Central Committee of the PLA, even as late as July 1961, wrote to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

> «Let us refrain from extending the ideological disagreements existing between our two parties to the sphere of state relations, be they in the economic, political or military fields.

> Our Party and Government have never refused to engage in bilateral talks on any questions. But we have emphasized and emphasize again that for such a thing it is necessary to create the necessary conditions, conditions of equality for the two parties».[1]

But the Khrushchevite revisionists neither considered this demand nor stopped their hostile attacks against the Party of Labor and the Albanian people. They cancelled the agreement on the training of citizens of the People's Republic of Albania in the schools of the Soviet Union, withdrew the scholarships from all the regular Albanian students, civil and military, and expelled in fact the People's Republic of Albania from the Warsaw Treaty, trampling underfoot the sovereignty of the Albanian people. Thus they refused the plenipotentiary delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Secretary of the Central Committee, the right to take part in the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries held in August 1961 in Moscow.

In this way the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev organized a fierce economic, political and military blockade around socialist Albania, accompanying the blockade with all-round overt and covert hostile activity against it. It aimed at creating a situation of insecurity in the People's Republic of Albania, at bringing the Party of Labor and the Albanian people to their knees, at turning them away from the Marxist-Leninist road, at subjecting them to the Khrushchevite dictate and making them embrace the revisionist course.

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[1] Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA Addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, July 6, 1961. Central Archives of the Party.

This aim of the Khrushchevite revisionists became still more apparent at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in October of 1961. N. Khrushchev with his group, brutally violating the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and the elementary rules of the relations between fraternal communist and workers' parties, publicly attacked the Albanian Party of Labor with slanders and accusations of the basest kind.

In his report to the congress, Khrushchev went so far as to describe the leadership of the PLA as «agents of imperialism», «sold for 30 pieces of silver» and to call on the communists and the Albanian people for counter-revolution.

The Soviet revisionist leadership intended to rally all the delegates and all the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the world to the congress in unanimous support of their accusations. But in this they utterly failed. Many of the representatives of the fraternal parties and a large number of the delegates that took the floor did not express support for this anti-Marxist attitude of the Soviet revisionists. Meanwhile, the delegation of the Communist Party of China openly denounced this conspiratorial method. In his speech, the head of the Chinese delegation pointed out that one-sided criticism and laying bare before the enemy the differences between the sister parties could not be considered a serious Marxist-Leninist stand. The majority of those foreign delegations which expressed themselves against the PLA knew nothing about the development of the Soviet-Albanian relations; they merely submitted blindly to the dictate of the Soviet leadership. By openly exposing the disagreements and launching slanderous attacks against the People's Republic of Albania, the Khrushchev group placed a weapon in the hands of the enemy and thus took upon themselves the historic responsibility of becoming the splitters of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The PLA in Open Conflict with Soviet Revisionist Leadership

Under those circumstances, the PLA could no longer remain silent. It was not only its right, but also its duty to declare its viewpoints for everyone to hear, to bring the truth about the relations between the PLA and the Soviet revisionist leadership, about the hostile anti-Albanian activity of that leadership, to the knowledge of the international communist movement and world public opinion.

In response to the calumnies and anti-Marxist attacks of the Khrushchev group, the Central Committee of the PLA pointed out that their attacks

> «are of service only to the enemies of communism and the People's Republic of Albania, to the various imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists. By openly attacking the Party of Labor of Albania, N. Khrushchev, in effect, launched an open attack against the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, against the unity of the socialist camp. N. Khrushchev bears full responsibility for this anti-Marxist act and for all the consequences thereof».[1]

On November 7, 1961 Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and the 44th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, in which he made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of Albanian-Soviet relations, and pointed out that the cause of their aggravation was the anti-Marxist and the great state chauvinist policy pursued by Khrushchev and his revisionist group. This group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the traditional policy consistently pursued by the Bolshevik Party and Soviet Government under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin.

During the 20 years of its life, the PLA had fought unceasingly to strengthen the friendship between the peoples of Albania and the Soviet Union, to establish the closest possible ties between the PRA and the USSR. It had educated the communists and the Albanian people in the spirit of loyalty to and boundless love for the great party of Lenin and Stalin and the first socialist state. The experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had been a source of inspiration and education for the people's revolution and the socialist construction. The People's Republic of Albania had received generous and all-round aid from the Soviet Union. Up to the summer of 1960 the collaboration between the Albanian Party and State and the Soviet Party and State had been normal.

Expressing the desire and determination of the Party and the entire Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that in the future, too, Albania would cherish untarnished pure sentiments of friendship for the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union. But, at the same time, the PLA would in no way reconcile itself with the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group, would never consent to renounce its Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and convictions, and submit to the Khrushchevite dictate.

Time had clearly proved that the Khrushchev group had used the campaign against «Stalin's cult of the individual» as a weapon against Marxism-Leninism, as a means of attaining its anti-Marxist aims on the internal and international plane. In connection with this, the PLA expressed once more its well-known opinion that J. V. Stalin had been and would remain for ever one of the most outstanding leaders and personalities, not only of the Soviet Union, but also of the international communist and workers' movement, one of the great Marxist-Leninist teachers.

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[1] Declaration of the Central Committee of the PLA, October 20, 1961. «Zëri i Popullit», October 21, 1961.

The PLA saw in the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev an enemy not only of the Albanian Party and people, but, first and foremost, an enemy of Marxism-Leninism and of the Soviet Union itself. It expressed its conviction that the communists and the Soviet people would eventually realize the danger that the revisionist course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses represented to the cause of socialism and communism both in the Soviet Union and on a world scale.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the criterion of loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, of love for the Soviet Union, could not be the stand maintained toward the 20th Congress and the program approved by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The decisions of the congresses of a party are binding only on its members. The communist and workers' parties are equal and independent. They draw up their own policies proceeding from the concrete conditions of their own countries and relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists to present the opportunist theses of the 20th Congress as international norms binding on all the communist and workers' parties had nothing in common with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and were a flagrant violation of the principle of equality and independence of Marxist-Leninist parties.

At the same time, the Central Committee of the PLA made yet another appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, elected at its 22nd Congress, to analyse the grave situation created in Soviet-Albanian relations by the activity of the anti-Marxist Khrushchev group with Leninist objectivity and correctness.

> «Being profoundly concerned about the present undesirable and very grave situation in Albanian-Soviet relations, which has its source in the brutal anti-Marxist actions of N. Khrushchev and his group, the Party of Labor of Albania calls on the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to view coolly the situation created and to take the necessary steps to normalize it. . . .»[1]
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> «For the sake of the unity of the communist movement and the socialist camp, of the interests of our countries, our Party has always been ready to settle the existing differences. But it has always been and is of the opinion that these problems will be resolved correctly only in a Marxist-Leninist way, in conditions of equality, and not under pressure and dictate. We are hopeful and confident of the sense of justice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union».[2]

The answer of the revisionist group of Khrushchev to this frank and comradely request was another hostile act unprecedented in the relations among the socialist countries: the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. As a pretext for this it used the absurd tale that «the Albanian Government has launched a slanderous and hostile campaign against the USSR in its country», that «it is taking premeditated measures to impede the normal activity of the Soviet Embassy and the office of the commercial representative of the USSR in Albania», etc. The real reason was the failure of the efforts of the Soviet leaders to make the PLA renounce its principled struggle against their revisionist course, which they were attempting to impose upon the PLA and other communist and workers' parties at any cost.

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[1] Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, approved at the meeting of the Plenum on the 12th of October 1961 and handed to the Soviet Embassy in Tirana on the 11th of November 1961. Central Archives of the Party.

[2] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Solemn Meeting on the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the PLA and the 44th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Tirana, 1961, p. 79.

Initiating the open struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the PLA assumed all responsibility toward both the Albanian people and the international communist movement. It started this struggle with the firm conviction that it would emerge victorious, for it was defending a just cause, the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of socialism, for the communists and all the revolutionary forces of the world were fighting shoulder to shoulder with it. At the same time, to eliminate any false ideas that might arise about an easy and speedy victory, the Central Committee warned that

> «the struggle that has been imposed upon our Party and people will be long and difficult, but difficulties have never frightened our Party and people».[1]

The Steel-like Unity of the People Around the Party in the Struggle Against the Khrushchevite Revisionists

The Khrushchevite revisionists thought that, with the rupture of diplomatic relations and the economic blockade, Albania would be completely isolated and, in the long run, would be forced to its knees since it was a small country and, as

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[1] Declaration of the Central Committee of the PLA, October 20, 1961. «Zëri i Popullit», October 21, 1961.

such, could not resist their pressure. The Soviet revisionists thought that there were only two roads open to Albania: either to accept the anti-Marxist course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses and submit to their dictate, or to throw themselves into the arms of imperialism. They were completely mistaken, too, in hoping that the Albanian people, moved by their love for the Soviet Union, would rise against the revolutionary leadership of their own Party and state.

The Khrushchevite revisionists intended to use the rupture of the diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania also as a means of imparting a lesson to the other countries of people's democracy and to show them that, if they did not submit to their dictate, the same measures would be taken against them.

The hostile activity of N. Khrushchev's group in every direction, in the economic, military, political and cultural fields, caused great damage to the Albanian people. The credits that should have been granted to the People's Republic of Albania, by virtue of properly concluded agreements with the Soviet Government, were an important part of the investments of the 3rd five-year plan. The suspension of all credits jeopardized the construction of a number of important projects of this plan. For 12 consecutive years the volume of imports and exports with the Soviet Union had comprised 50 per cent of Albania's foreign trade. The complete rupture of commercial relations by the Soviet Government created great difficulties for the export of Albanian goods and for the import of machinery and other industrial equipment sorely needed for the development of the people's economy. Besides this, because of the suspension of military aid, the Albanian Government was compelled to overburden the economy of the country in order to strengthen the defense of the Fatherland and the borders on this flank of the socialist camp.

In these difficult circumstances, the imperialist powers, in their turn, hoped that the time had come to win Albania over into the imperialist camp. To that end, they hastened to offer credits and expressed their readiness to fulfil the various demands that might come from Albania.

But both the Khrushchevite revisionists and the imperialists were sadly mistaken in their accounts and hopes. In his speech on the 7th of November 1961, Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed very clearly the sentiments and determination of our people to go forward on the road to socialism undeterred by difficulties and obstacles.

> «. . . The Albanian people and their Party will even live on grass if need be, but they will never sell themselves for 30 pieces of silver. They would rather die honorably on their feet than live in shame on their knees».[1]

The Albanian communists and the broad masses of the working people responded to the appeal of the Khrushchevite revisionists to overthrow the leadership of the Party and the state, to their attacks, pressures and blackmail, by intensifying their efforts to fulfil the tasks of the plan and by closing their ranks more tightly around the Party and the Central Committee. The steel-like unity of the people with the Party rose to a still higher level.

1961 witnessed a still greater upsurge of the creative initiative and capability of the broad working masses for a better exploitation of the internal possibilities of the people's economy.

In spite of the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists and other difficulties brought about by the suspension of credits, thanks to the determination and mobilization of the technical cadres and the working people, the continuation of the work on construction projects was assured and some of them were commissioned according to plan.

The far-sighted leadership of the Party and the selfless work of the people made possible the fulfilment of the plan of the year 1961. The total volume of industrial output during that year was overfulfilled by 5 per cent. Despite adverse weather conditions total agricultural production rose 22 per cent over that of 1960.

In spite of the hard conditions of the blockade, these results made it possible for the living standards of the people to remain unaffected. In accordance with the estimates of the plan, by decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers, a reduction of the retail prices of industrial goods through which the population made an annual gain of 800 million leks (old currency) was put into effect in October 1961.

It was a major task for the Party to ensure the fulfilment of the plans for the following years of the five-year plan, also. To achieve this, many great difficulties had to be overcome.

These difficulties were increased still further in 1962, when the governments of several European countries of people's democracy, following the course and the example of the Soviet Government, suspended their credits, too. Although these governments did not completely sever their economic relations with the People's Republic of Albania, as N. Khrushchev's group had done, they purposely delayed signing commercial agreements and refused to exchange Albanian goods for their goods, which were badly needed for the development of the Albanian economy.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Solemn Meeting on the 20th Anniversary of the Founding of the PLA and the 44th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Tirana, 1961, p. 43.

With the blockade and pressure of the modern revisionists, the discovery and the more complete utilization of the inner reserves and the creative capacities of the workers and specialists became a task of primary importance. Reliance on our own resources assumed a still greater political significance now. It became imperative to strengthen still more people's revolutionary optimism, their unshakable confidence in their own forces, their profound conviction that they could fight, work and build socialism successfully, attain victory in any situation, no matter how complicated it might be.

The people's consultations organized by the Party and the government at the beginning of the year 1962 served this purpose. In the course of these consultations, the working masses advanced more than 10,500 proposals for new products with raw materials available within the country.

The big patriotic drive to produce machines and equipment, spare parts and other imported materials at home, to prolong the life-span of the machinery and technical equipment, embraced the entire working people. A number of factories, industrial production sections and various kinds of machinery were designed and built with internal means and forces. Albanian specialists, although young, successfully solved many complicated problems. This movement was an excellent manifestation of the lofty socialist consciousness of the working people to put all their mental and physical capabilities at the service of the people and of socialism, to place the general interest above personal interests, to defend the line of the Party, to carry out the construction of socialism at the rates set down by the 4th Congress. This proved that the principle of relying on the internal forces was being ever more profoundly understood by the broad masses of the laboring people.

The revolutionary optimism for the fulfilment of the tasks envisaged by the plan and the unbreakable unity of the broad working masses with the Party and its Central Committee were also powerfully demonstrated in the June 3, 1962 elections of the deputies to the People's Assembly. Almost 100 per cent of the voters went to the polls and cast their votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

The problems of training, perfecting and educating the cadres in the communist spirit, of raising the technical and vocational level of the working people have always preoccupied the Party. These problems were tackled in an all-round manner at the 4th Congress of the Party. In the circumstances of the imperialist and revisionist blockade, the solution of these problems assumed a still more acute character.

The Central Committee examined these problems of such great importance to the complete construction of socialist society and took a series of concrete measures.

Special care was devoted to the technical and vocational training of the workers. Thus, during the five-year period, not less than 118,000 qualified workers were to be trained and their educational level raised to that required by the new advanced technique.

Appreciating the medium technician as the bearer of technological management, as a principal figure in the everyday management of the production process, the Central Committee drew the attention of the Party and the trade union organizations, the economic and state organs and the educational institutions, to the need for sounder theoretical and practical training of the middle level technicians, for better and more wide-scale use of them in solving economic and technological problems of production.

To strengthen the work for training high level cadres, for their further qualification and specialization, measures were taken for a closer linking of teaching with productive work. Schools of higher learning were better equipped with laboratories and teaching materials and the necessary scientific and technical literature. Greater importance was attached to drawing specialists into scientific research in geology, chemistry, physics, design, construction and other studies.

At the same time, the revolutionary and ideological tempering of the cadres and specialists of various branches of activity was strengthened. This helped the intellectuals and all the cadres to deepen their Marxist-Leninist revolutionary convictions, to take a more vigorous part in the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and opportunist and revisionist trends. The ideological work of the Party imbued the specialists and technicians, as all the working people, with the spirit of sacrifice and self-abnegation, with the revolutionary determination to overcome all difficulties.

The entire work for training and perfecting the cadres was conducted according to the following instructions of the Party:

> «The cadres we have raised and will raise in the future should be equipped with an extensive culture, with profound technical and vocational knowledge, and, above all, trained in such a way as to be closely linked with their work, with the people and the Party: these three things must always guide us in our work with the cadres».[1]

Alongside the struggle for the fulfilment of the economic tasks of the 3rd five-year plan, the PLA paid great attention to increasing the defense capacity of the country and to creating state reserves to be able to cope with any situation, any unexpected difficulty.

To overcome the obstacles created by the hostile activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, an important role was played by the fraternal help and assistance which the Communist Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China gave the Party and the Albanian people during those years of difficult struggle. They immediately advanced supplementary credits to the People's Republic of Albania. This noble internationalist aid made it possible to continue the construction of the majority of the projects of the 3rd five-year plan for the socialist construction of the country, as envisaged by the 4th Congress of the Party.

3. TASKS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

The problem of the countryside, of its development, remained always a very important problem.

In the years following liberation, agriculture had undergone great changes. The greater part of it had been changed from a backward agriculture into an advanced socialist agriculture. The number of tractors and of other farm machines had increased. A considerable number of specialists who ensured the extension of the application of agronomy were employed in the various branches of agriculture. In 1961 total agricultural production had been doubled in comparison with 1938.

During the first stage of socialist construction, in the main the PLA followed the course of the extensive development of agriculture. At that time, it could not act otherwise for lack of mechanized appliances, of a system of drainage and irrigation, of qualified cadres, artificial fertilizers, etc. However, all the possibilities existed for an extension of the area under cultivation. Up to 1961, 62 per cent of the increase of agricultural output was due to the extension of the area under cultivation and only 38 per cent due to rise of crop yields. Because of a failure to exploit all the possibilities of agriculture, its rate of development still did not respond to the needs arising from the rapid increase of the population, and of their purchasing power as well as from the expansion of industry and exports.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, July 1962. Central Archives of the Party.

For the Intensification of Agriculture

As determined at the 4th Congress of the PLA, intensification was the road for the most rapid development of agriculture. It was necessary for the whole Party and all the working people to be mobilized for the fulfilment of the great tasks in agriculture. This important problem was taken up for examination at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in October 1962.

The intensification of agriculture, the plenum pointed out, is a comprehensive process. It demands a systematic increase of investments and of mechanized appliances, extension of the drainage and irrigation system, extensive use of chemical and organic fertilizers, an unceasing rise of the agrotechnical level to enhance the fertility of the soil and to take more agricultural and livestock products from the same acreage at the lowest cost possible.

There were real possibilities for the intensification of agriculture, for an increase of the yields of field crops and animal products at a more rapid rate than the increase of the area under cultivation and the numbers of livestock.

The collectivization of agriculture, the establishment of big socialist economies (agricultural cooperatives and state farms), their equipment with a powerful mechanical base, the building of an extensive drainage and irrigation system, the wide use of selected seeds, the increase of specialized cadres and the opening of new lands, comprised the indispensable preliminary conditions for transition to intensive agriculture.

In order to carry out this great task, the Central Committee directed the Party and state organs to demand the application of modern agrotechnique on a broad scale and the mobilization of all inner reserves. The principal reserve was defined as the backward economies which could be raised to the level of the advanced ones. Other important reserves were: a broader participation of the peasantry in agricultural work and the most fruitful use of the labor force during the whole year, and the fullest possible use of the equipment, work tools and land.

The transition from an extensive to an intensive agriculture marked another big leap forward in the further socialist development of agriculture.

The directives of the Central Committee on the intensification of agriculture helped the Party organizations and the laboring peasantry to gain a better grasp of this problem. The struggle for higher yields in agriculture was made an issue for every state farm and village. The number of farmhands in the agricultural cooperatives increased appreciably, while the annual average of days worked by each cooperativist rose. Because of revisionist blockade the import of chemical fertilizers was reduced, making the large-scale collection and use of organic fertilizers even more necessary. Thousands of hectares of arable land were put under irrigation. The movement for planting more grapevines, fruit, citrus and olive trees and vegetables was further developed.

Meanwhile the state continued in greater proportions the work of land improvement through drainage and irrigation systems. The obstacles of the blockade were overcome and the mechanization of agriculture was further strengthened and extended, although not to the full extent envisaged in the five-year plan.

At the same time the work of opening up new land, especially in the hills, went on successfully. But in this sphere, too, there were still larger reserves than had been foreseen which were not exploited as fully as they should have been during the years 1961-1965.

For a Radical Improvement of the Economic, Social and Cultural Situation in the Countryside

The socialist transformation of the countryside demanded not only the development of the productive forces in agriculture, the raising of the productivity of labor, but also a radical improvement of the economic, social and cultural life of the peasantry, the perfecting of socialist relations.

In comparison with the past, as a result of the new conditions created in the countryside, the mode of life of the peasantry had also changed. People now were better fed and clothed. There were increased numbers of schools and pupils, and of health and cultural institutions; crèches and kindergartens were being built everywhere.

But these were only the initial steps on a long march toward the elimination of the essential differences between town and countryside, differences that were linked with the level of the development of the forces of production, the socialization of the means of work and of work itself, with the conditions and manner of living, with the development of culture, education, health services, etc.

The problem of radically improving the economic, social and cultural life of the peasantry, of narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside, was analysed at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in June 1963. The plenum defined the ways for

a more rapid raising of the material well-being and the cultural level of the peasantry by making the best and fullest use of the possibilities the socialist system of economy had created.

> «Today, the Party raises this big problem with such force because its solution is an objective necessity dictated by the new stage of the historic development of our country — the complete construction of a socialist society».[1]

The development of the forces of production, the increase of agricultural and livestock products, mainly through the rise of productivity in accordance with the directions of the 4th Congress and the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee on the intensification of agriculture, were to serve as a basis for raising the well-being of the peasantry.

Another way to develop the forces of production was to be the improvement of some aspects of the relations in production, first and foremost, defining more correct proportions in the distribution of agricultural and animal products so as to ensure extended reproduction and to meet the general needs of the state as well as the peasants' own needs for consumption. In this context, the Central Committee laid down the task of advancing the forms of distribution, of avoiding shortcomings, and thus ensuring more fruitful administration of production in agriculture and the income of the village.

The plenum paid special attention to harmonizing the ratio between funds for accumulation and funds for use in the agricultural cooperatives. Instructions were issued to eliminate wrong tendencies observed in some cooperatives, such as the allocation of the fund of accumulation on a scale too low for the possibilities of extended reproduction, or spending too much in non-productive spheres. It was essential to set the fund of accumulation in the countryside on the basis of actual production and the standard of living attained.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report «On the Economic, Social and Cultural Situation of the Countryside and the Measures for Its Further Elevation», Tirana, 1963, pp. 8-9.

The plenum observed that in a number of cooperatives of the mountainous areas the income of peasants from auxiliary pursuits equalled or even exceeded the income they received from the collective economy. In order to liquidate this temporary phenomenon, Party and state organs were charged with making an objective study of the problem and taking steps to change the ratio between the income from private plots and that from the collective economy in favor of the latter. At the same time, Party and state organs were warned that too much haste in this direction might give rise to harmful consequences, therefore care for the best possible exploitation of the private plots should not be reduced because of the need to increase the incomes and raise the well-being of the peasants.

To increase the incomes of the peasantry, it was necessary also to ensure the greatest possible participation of the peasants in productive work, to restrict the number of non-productive workdays, to organize auxiliary productive activities on a wider scale in every cooperative so as to ensure supplementary income for its members.

The plenum defined the changing and improvement of the manner of living as a very important social problem in the raising of the well-being of the peasantry. It pointed out that, although socialist relations in production had been established, the way of life in the countryside had lagged behind those relations. The source of this contradiction was to be sought in the relatively low level of production, in the old concepts in people's consciousness, and in the low level of culture.

Instructions were issued with the aim of bringing about a gradual but radical improvement in food structure, in the way of preparing meals, in the way of dressing, in the use of household equipment so as to make life in the countryside more hygienic and cultured. The introduction of communal and handicraft services into the life of the rural areas, the planned systematization of the villages, the building of attractive, hygienic and cheap houses, the extension of electric light, the supply of drinking water, the expansion of the communications network between town and countryside and between the villages themselves, all these were urgent tasks. Instructions were issued for the dissemination of health education among the rural masses, the broadening of the network of health institutions, for treatment at health institutions to be made free of charge for the peasantry.

Along with the rise of the material well-being of the peasant masses, the plenum also dwelt on the other aspect of the problem, namely, the enrichment of their spiritual life, the raising of their educational and cultural level. The network of 8-grade schools in the countryside was to be expanded and all efforts made to include in them all the village youth. The Central Committee sought to raise the role of the school as the principal centre for the dissemination of culture and knowledge among the peasant population. For this it was necessary to enhance the role of the teachers as fighters for the propagation of the new in the countryside, for the all-round transformation of the way of life of the peasantry.

The task of making culture a possession of the entire peasantry can be solved, emphasized the plenum, by liberating the peasants from the prejudices and remnants of the past, by educating them in the spirit of communist morality and the communist world outlook.

The fight against those backward customs that degrade women and impede them from participating actively in economic, political and social life was stressed as a special duty. The plenum described the enhancement of the role and the personality of woman as a fighter for the construction of socialist society in the countryside as an indispensable condition for the radical improvement of the economic, social and cultural situation in the rural areas.

One of the important objectives of the political work of the Party was to do away with the predominant peasant mentality of being content with little. This mentality obstructed the efforts of the peasants to raise their well-being, to change their way of living and to develop the forces of production.

The October 1962 and June 1963 decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA armed the Party and all the working people with a militant program for the further development of agriculture, for a radical improvement of the economic, social and cultural life of the countryside in the period of the complete construction of socialist society.

4. STRENGTHENING THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. THE SUCCESSFUL FULFILMENT OF THE ECONOMIC TASKS

The years of hard struggle following the 4th Congress proved still more clearly the correctness of the general line of the PLA; they demonstrated the determination of the Party and of the entire people to march along the road decided by the congress.

During the socialist construction, in the struggle against imperialism and revisionism, the communists had been tempered, the ranks of the Party increased with new forces and its social content improved, while the leading role of the PLA in the whole life of the country and its international authority had been enhanced.

But, for the successful accomplishment of the great tasks of the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism and the communist education of the working people in the teeth of all sorts of difficulties, it was essential that the Party be further strengthened both from the organizational and the ideological point of view, that its leading role be raised still further, and its work for the communist education of the working people be perfected.

The Party's concern for organizational and ideological problems was raised higher than at any other time.

Further Strengthening the Party Organizationally

The struggle for the further organizational strengthening of the Party was waged in a number of directions: for the faithful application of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on the building and role of the revolutionary party of the working class; for the exposure of the revisionist theses on the party; against violations of the rules of the Constitution; for improvement of the composition and increasing the ranks of the Party; for strengthening the political leadership of the organs and of the basic organizations of the Party; for raising the ideological level of the communists.

> «Any deviation from the Leninist principles,» the Central Committee emphasized, «any lowering of the leading role of the Party, threatens the working class with the danger of remaining disarmed in its struggle. This is a source of sickness and alien manifestations in the Party, a cause of its ideolog-

> ical and organizational degeneration, of its decay and eventually of its liquidation».[1]

This had been demonstrated best by the degeneration of the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia into a bourgeois social-chauvinist party. The plenum pointed out that the Khrushchevite revisionists had started the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on that same road.

Khrushchev's theses on replacing the party of the proletariat with a «party of the whole people», which was announced at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was condemned by the PLA as a profoundly anti-Marxist thesis, as a heavy blow at the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party of the proletariat. Just such a thesis, social democratic in content, had been refuted by V. I. Lenin himself in his lifetime. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed masses had completely verified the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, namely, that history had assigned a great mission to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties: to play the leading role in the socialist revolution and through all the stages of the construction of socialist and communist society. Only when classes have completely disappeared and the communist society has been built (keeping in mind the external factors), only then would the existence of the political party of the working class be no longer necessary and the vanguard role of the working class and of its party come to an end.[2]

The other thesis of the Khrushchevite revisionists on the replacement of the dictatorship of the proletariat with

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[1] Report of the Political Bureau «On Further Strengthening the Party» delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, December 13, 1963, Tirana, 1963, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

the «state of the entire people» also aimed at weakening the leading role of the party in the political and economic life of the country.

The revisionist theses of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union found their further embodiment in the reorganization of the organs of the party on the basis of production alone, in the liquidation of the former committees and bureaux of the party and in the setting up of industrial and agricultural committees and bureaux everywhere in the Soviet Union. The PLA described this measure as a grave violation of the fundamental principles of democratic centralism, of the well-known Leninist principle of the building of the party on the basis of both production and territory, as an attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists to divest the organs of the party of their political and ideological leading role and to transform them into mere economic organs.[1]

The struggle against the revisionist theses on the party aided the PLA to apply better and in a more correct manner the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the revolutionary party of the working class. These teachings were the foundation of the directions issued by the 4th Congress for the further organizational growth and strengthening of the Party.

According to these directions, the overwhelming majority of those admitted to Party membership were people engaged in production from the ranks of the working class and laboring peasantry. People engaged in production made up the overwhelming majority of the candidates to membership in the Party during the five years following the 4th Congress. During this period the social content of the Party underwent further changes; workers made up 33 per cent of the total number of the Party members,

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[1] Ibid., p. 11.

members of the agricultural cooperatives — 26 per cent, employees and officials — 37 per cent, others — 4 per cent.

The increase and the strengthening of the composition of the Party ranks reflected the changes that had taken place in the structure of the classes, the growth in quantity and quality of the working class, the socialist transformations of the countryside. The increase of the Party with workers and, in general, with people engaged in production, was accompanied by the strengthening of the inner life of the Party organizations and the raising of their directing role in the economy to a new height. This was also a proof of the close links of the Party with the working masses.

The generally satisfactory dynamics of the growth and social composition of the Party was an indication of the careful work of its organizations to introduce new blood. However, there were cases which showed that the instructions of the 4th Congress and the Central Committee were not being applied everywhere and to every newly admitted member. One of these instructions was the selection of people on the basis of the all-round attributes that a Party member should have, their preparations and education for the proud title of Party member. However, the fact that 18 per cent of the persons expelled from the ranks of the Party during the years 1961-1965 were communists enrolled in the same five-year period showed that these instructions had not been properly borne in mind. Another weak point was the unsatisfactory situation over the acceptance of women into the Party. The fact that women members made up only 12.5 per cent of the total number of the communists and only 3 per cent of the total number of the women engaged in work (in town and countryside), whereas male members comprised 16 per cent of the working men, could not be considered normal. This showed that the Party organizations did not respond as they should

to the revolutionary impetus and the lively participation of women in all the spheres of socialist construction.

The Party devoted special attention also to the extension of the basic organizations and to their consolidation, in conformity with the tasks of socialist construction. Of the basic organizations set up after the 4th Congress, the majority were in the state sectors of production. Meanwhile, very few villages remained without a basic organization, but the distribution of the forces of the Party could not be regarded as completely in order according to scientific criteria. Although the population of the villages was twice that of the cities, 68 per cent of the communists were in the cities and only 32 per cent in the countryside. Neither could the ratio of the distribution of communists in some regions be considered correct, because it was greater in the mountain zones than in the plains, greater in commerce than in industry, construction and transport.

The Central Committee drew attention to the problems brought forth by the experience of the struggle for the organizational strengthening of the Party and demanded that greater care should be devoted to this fundamental problem.

Communist Education of the Working People — a Fundamental Task of the Party

On the basis of the great economic and social transformations and thanks to the all-round political and educational work of the Party, the moral image of the working man, his consciousness and world outlook, his attitude toward society, toward work and social property, also had undergone a change. The establishment of socialist relations in production had narrowed down the basis for the spread of bourgeois ideology.

But irrespective of this, in the ranks of the working people there were preserved, to a greater or lesser degree, concepts and customs from the past, the expression of alien ideas, which were reflected in their daily life and work. These alien concepts and manifestations of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and even feudal and patriarchal origin, constituted the principal internal danger to socialism in the period of its complete construction, a basis on which the class enemy relied.

The struggle against alien manifestations and mentalities, the struggle for the communist education of the working people assumed greater importance for the Party and the country than in the past for two main reasons. First, because to complete the construction of socialist society, parallel with the establishment of the material-technical base of socialism, it was necessary also to carry out the all-round spiritual tempering of the new man, the formation of the lofty socialist consciousness among all the working people. Second, for the alien concepts and manifestations among the people became still more dangerous because the imperialists and revisionists had greatly increased their ideological diversion following the betrayal by the Soviet leadership and the spread of modern revisionism in the international communist movement.

The socialist attitude toward work and social property, the struggle for the purity of the moral stature of the communists and all the working people, the further strengthening of the feeling of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the education of the working people in the revolutionary class spirit,[1] were defined by the Central Committee as the fundamental problems of communist education.

The vigorous participation of every able-bodied citizen in useful social work, the rooting in the consciousness of everyone of the concept of living by his own toil and sweat, of using all his physical and mental capacities to the benefit of socialist construction, the mobilization of social opinion against any manifestation of laziness and parasitism, was the principal aim in educating people in a **socialist attitude toward work.**

Along with this, it was necessary to strengthen love for every type of job and to honor all the working people, to educate the workers in the spirit of being ready to work in any sector of the economy and in any place where the needs of socialist construction required it.

Another objective was the all-round spiritual training of the working people to work with a high level of productivity and quality, with exemplary discipline and order, utilizing their working time to the maximum.

The Central Committee pointed out that a socialist attitude toward work demands first of all that in their practical activity the working people **should proceed not from personal interest and material gain but from the general interest.** But this lofty socialist consciousness cannot be implanted at once in all the working people. Therefore it was indispensable to establish a correct connection between the general interest and personal material interest.

Parallel with the socialist progress of the country it is also necessary to change the ratio between moral and material stimuli. With the rise of the living standard of the people and the level of socialist consciousness of the workers it becomes possible to raise ever higher the role of the moral stimulus in work. Therefore, instructions were issued that the regulations governing the material stimuli should be revised from time to time.

In connection with this, the PLA condemned the viewpoints of the modern revisionists who purposely distort the teachings of V. I. Lenin on the role of material stimuli and place them above everything, declaring them to be the main motivating force of the productive activity of the working people under socialism.

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[1] The problem of the communist education of the working people was taken up by the July 1964 Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA.

The socialist attitude toward work is closely connected **with the socialist attitude toward social property.**

The alien anti-socialist attitudes of individual working people toward social property are expressions of the mentality of private property rooted over centuries in the consciousness of mankind. Imperialism and all the reactionary elements make wide-ranging efforts to exploit the psychology of private ownership in order to undermine socialist ownership — the material basis of the socialist order. That is why the struggle against misappropriation and theft, against damage and waste of socialist property, the struggle against mismanagement, incomplete use of productive capacities and concealment of reserves, the Central Committee pointed out, was, first and foremost, a struggle to strengthen the lofty socialist consciousness of the working people, to make them regard socialist property as an inviolable basis of the socialist order, to guard it as the apple of their eye, to strengthen and expand it continuously.

The socialist attitude toward work and social property constitutes one of the main elements of communist morality. But this is not all that is demanded from the communists and workers. Socialist society demands **people of high integrity, spiritually rich in every aspect, people endowed with lofty moral and political qualities, with wide cultural horizons, principled and just, determined fighters against everything contrary to the standards and principles of communist morality.**

Through more persistent educational work the Party undertook the fight against various trends that appeared among some working people and communists toward an easy life, personal gain and privilege, frequently abusing

the duties entrusted to them by the Party and the people. In the same way, too, it would combat bureaucracy, unhealthy familiarity, nepotism, unfair interventions, illicit gains for oneself or for friends and relatives etc., with greater severity.

For the purity of the moral image of the communists and the working people, it was necessary to always maintain a severe stand also against dissipation in personal and family life, against trampling on the personality of the woman, against conservatism, prejudice, religious beliefs, etc.

Experience had shown that only one step separates moral degeneration from political degeneration.

Another important educational task defined by the Central Committee was: **to always maintain the vigor of the lofty patriotism of the Albanian people, to further develop and enrich it in the daily work of socialist construction and the defense of the socialist Fatherland.**

The patriotic education of the working people should be of better service to the fight against alien concepts in the consciousness of the people, especially of the youth, so as to block the way to bourgeois cosmopolitism, to deprecating what is Albanian and humility and servility toward what is foreign, to underestimating the abilities of Albanian specialists, cadres, workers and peasants, to imitating the capitalist way of life, to capitulating to Western art, literature and music. Such manifestations, although isolated, could spread and turn into a real danger if a continuous ideological struggle was not waged against them.

Under the specific conditions, for the education of the working people with the spirit of socialist patriotism, very great political importance was assumed by a more profound understanding of **the principle of reliance on one's own forces.**

> «The principle of relying upon one's own forces is a revolutionary and internationalist Marxist-Leninist principle. It stems from the fact that the problem of revolution and of socialist construction is, in the first place, an internal problem of each country, and the decisive factor for carrying it out are the internal revolutionary forces of each country».[1]

The revolutionary patriotic education of the working people was to be closely combined, as always, with the **education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism,** of solidarity and friendship with the people of the socialist countries, with the working class and the anti-imperialist revolutionary peoples and forces the world over.

To ensure sound and fruitful work for the communist education of the working people, it was necessary to make better use of **the method of class analysis, looking at various social phenomena from a class angle.** To view phenomena from a class angle means to see them with a political eye, placing above all else the interests of the class of the proletariat, of the people, of socialism, viewing things with the eye of one who seeks to discover the nature of events and viewpoints by defining who benefits from them. This method helps to distinguish the truth even when anti-Marxist, anti-socialist and reactionary viewpoints are cloaked with a pseudo-Marxist phraseology, as the points of view of the modern revisionists are presented. The method of class analysis is necessary in order to guard the communists and the working people from falling in the trap of bourgeois and revisionist propaganda, from sliding into opportunism, to help them raise their revolutionary vigilance.

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[1] Report of the Political Bureau «On Further Strengthening the Ideological Work of the Party for the Communist Education of the Working People» delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, July 1964, Tirana, 1964, p. 46.

The Central Committee paid particular attention to the **revolutionary class education of the youth.** The youth had not known the oppression and the savage exploitation of the foreign rulers and the local landlords and capitalists. It had not passed through the fire of revolution, and, for lack of experience, could be affected more easily by bourgeois and revisionist ideology. For this reason, the Party organizations and those of the Labor Youth Union of Albania were instructed to consider it always as a duty of first importance to educate the new generation in such a revolutionary spirit as to make it worthy of taking over the torch from the generation that had carried out the people's revolution and laid the foundations of socialism.

Treating the problems of the communist education of the working people in an all-round way, the Central Committee emphasized the decisive importance of **the educational work of the Party** on the basis of Marxism-Leninism for the formation of the new man.

> «Our socialist reality, the new social and economic conditions, create among the working people a kind of socialist consciousness. But this is a very low level of socialist consciousness. Socialism cannot be built by relying only on this kind of consciousness, which arises spontaneously, under the direct influence of daily life, of the objective conditions. Socialism demands a higher level of socialist consciousness which does not and cannot arise spontaneously. It is moulded by Marxist-Leninist science, induced in the masses by the Party through all its daily educational work».[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 55.

But the educational work of the Party would never achieve its purpose if it were not organically linked with the process and practice of revolution, of the work for the construction of socialist society.

> **«The formation of the new man . . . cannot be understood and must never be divorced from the question of work; it can never be conceived apart from work».**[1]

The formation and strengthening of socialist consciousness is a long process of the education and re-education of the people. The Central Committee made it clear once again that first place in this process should always be given to the **method of persuasion,** untiring work to make people conscious of the correctness of the Party's line, of the principles and the standards of communist morality, of the danger and damage to socialist society from alien prejudices, concepts and manifestations.

The Party demanded that a clear distinction be made between contradictions between socialist ideology and alien concepts and manifestations in the minds of the people, on the one hand, and those between socialist ideology and the bearers of alien concepts, on the other. Contradictions between socialist ideology and alien concepts and manifestations in the minds of the people are antagonistic class contradictions. As such, an irreconcilable struggle must be waged against them. On the other hand, contradictions between socialist ideology and the bearers of alien concepts and manifestations, in the overwhelming majority of cases, are non-antagonistic contradictions, they are contradictions among the people. The bearers of these concepts, in general, are people closely connected with the people's state power. Therefore, the class struggle should be directed not against these people, but against their alien concepts and manifestations. Only in isolated cases when some individual adopts a hostile position and becomes guilty of punishable acts should the method of persuasion and education be replaced by the method of coercion, by enforcing the laws of the people's power.

In the work of the Party for the communist education of the working people, a powerful weapon, as always, would be **criticism and self-criticism, the positive example and the strength of the collective, of social opinion. Publicizing and imparting to the working people a profound knowledge of the laws of the people's state power,** which embody the standards of communist morality and the line of the Party for the construction of socialism, played a special role.

Literature and Art for Communist Education

Literature and art are a powerful means for the education of the new man with the ideals of socialism and the standards of communist morality. The further development and perfecting of the socialist content of literature and art, the improvement of their ideological and artistic quality assumed still greater importance in the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society, of the sharpening of the political and ideological struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism on a world scale.

A new literature, a new music, opera and choreographic art, painting and sculpture, a new cinematography etc., outstanding for their ideological purity, revolutionary fighting spirit and sound national features, had been created during the years of people's power in Albania.

Relying on the successes achieved, the Central Committee of the Party pointed the way to making literature and art a more militant and effective means for the construction of socialist society. A broader and deeper reflection of the struggle, life and work of the people, of their ideals and aspirations and of the problems of the times, was the main requirement. What was especially demanded was a more profound and extensive treatment of the National-liberation War and the great revolutionary transformations that had taken place after liberation.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Closing Speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, July 1964, Tirana, 1964, pp. 9-10.

> «The heroes of our time, the workers, peasants and people's intellectuals educated by the Party, those who work and fight self-sacrificingly for the construction of socialism, for the defense and prosperity of the Fatherland, should be at the centre of the attention of our literature and art».[1]

Writers and artists had to reflect our reality more accurately, make a better presentation in their works of the real world in its particular circumstances and its revolutionary development. Lack of class spirit and communist partizanship, abstract humanism and bourgeois objectivism, exaggeration of the shortcomings in socialist society and their presentation as incurable diseases, the description of man as evil by nature, of heroism and sacrifice as hollow deeds, etc. are alien to the literature and art of socialist realism. It was precisely such elements that had become widespread in the last decade in the literature and art of the Soviet Union and of certain other socialist countries with the direct encouragement and support of the modern revisionists. When the sound critical spirit against everything alien, backward and reactionary, against everything obstructing the forward march of our socialist society and against all evil phenomena in the various spheres of life is strengthened, only then can literature and art in the People's Republic of Albania properly fulfil their lofty mission of the revolutionary education of the masses. Their principal objective should be to bring out, with a greater power of effect, what is socialist and progressive, what has the future before it, to further enliven people's optimism and confidence in the future, for surmounting difficulties and ensuring victory.

The Central Committee warned of the danger threatening the creative work of the Albanian writers and artists, too, as a result of the great extension of the various decadent, anti-socialist trends in art and literature in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. In order to eliminate any influence of these trends in Albanian arts and literature, it was laid down as an important task to struggle unceasingly for their ideological purity. Writers and artists should sharpen their vigilance, recognize the danger presented by the revisionist theories and fight against influences alien to socialist realism. One of the most decisive means was the ever closer linking of the writers and artists with the people, giving them a profound and continuing knowledge of the life of the people, of reality and, parallel with this, a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the most characteristic phenomena and processes of the socialist society in Albania.

> «We should look to the people to find our inspiration, for the tune of our songs, the rhythm of our dances, the purity of the language, the tempo of work, the spirit of creation, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the simplicity and justice of the people. In art and culture,

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[1] Report of the Political Bureau «On Increasing the Role of Art and Literature» delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, October 1965. Central Archives of the Party.

> as in everything else, the basis of creative work should be the people».[1]

For the further strengthening of the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses, the Party demanded that the programs of artistic and cultural institutions should reflect the political, economic and social problems of the time. The loftiest principle that should guide the activities of these institutions should always be to serve the broad masses of the people, to serve both the educative enjoyment and cultured recreation of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

A broader diffusion of folk songs and dances, of revolutionary songs of war and work, was laid down as the general direction for the amateur artistic movement.

The Central Committee called on Party committees and organizations to strengthen and improve their leading role in further developing literature and art, in enhancing the role of communist education in this sphere. Party guidance in art and literature should be centred, first and foremost, on the ideological and political orientation of the creative work, on ensuring a revolutionary ideological content and a more educative artistic power.

For the Party it always remained an important task to advance the ideological, political and moral education of writers and artists, their Marxist-Leninist revolutionary tempering. For writers and artists and all workers in the sphere of culture, it was necessary to have a more profound knowledge of the line of the Party, to have a better understanding of the political importance of their task. They should consistently study the decisions and other materials of the Party, master dialectical and historical materialism, applying it to the problems of their work, to the struggle against revisionism in this sphere.

The Fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan

The fulfilment of the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan was bound up with overcoming not only the natural difficulties of growth, but also the difficulties created by imperialist and revisionist blockade, the continuous, fiercely hostile activity of the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and of the imperialists. For this reason the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan was organically interconnected with the principled ideological and political struggle against revisionism, with the struggle against imperialism, to defeat its plots and hostile activity.

Holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, the Party, together with the people, broke the blockade and foiled the plots of the enemy.

Relying on their own efforts and with the fraternal internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China, they overcame all difficulties and, on the whole, successfully fulfilled the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan. The main targets were achieved.

The plan for total industrial production was fulfilled 97 per cent. In the chromium, copper, electrical and machine-making industries the plan was overfulfilled in a satisfactory manner. The oil, coal, building materials, light and food industries recorded further development. The foundations of the chemical industry were laid. Within a period of five years, 430 industrial, agricultural, and social-cultural projects were built and commissioned. In 1965 total industrial production was 39 per cent higher than in 1960 and 34.8 times as much as in 1938.

Total agricultural output in 1966 was 36 per cent higher than in 1960 and 2.3 times as much as in 1938. The production of food grain increased by 51 per cent, the land under cultivation by 11 per cent. The irrigation capacity increased 52 per cent. The volume of mechanized work was raised 82 per cent. In general the basis for the intensification of agriculture was strengthened.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Closing Speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA, October 26, 1965. Central Archives of the Party.

The national income rose 44 per cent in comparison with the second five-year period. The income allocation for the fund of consumption, for the circulation of goods of the socialist market and for housing accommodation was augmented. The planned number of pupils and students was overfulfilled. The number of cadres of medium training nearly doubled, while cadres of higher qualifications were more than doubled.

Nevertheless, the well-being of the working people did not rise to the expected level. The tasks of the overall plan were not completely fulfilled, in the first place, because of the difficulties caused by the imperialist and revisionist blockade, while in agriculture, because of adverse weather conditions, as well as certain weaknesses in management and organization. Under the pressure of the blockade, the Party was obliged to amend the tasks of the 3rd five-year plan. The norms of accumulation of national income were raised above the limits set. Material reserves were increased. These changes were made to ensure the uninterrupted development of the economy and to raise the all-round defensive power of the Fatherland to a higher level.

But even in the difficult conditions of the blockade, the Party did not allow the level of the material well-being of the working people to fall, or even to remain stationary. The population of town and countryside were regularly supplied with consumer goods. Prices were not raised. On several occasions they were even reduced. The purchasing power of the lek was further strengthened. The average life expectancy of the population rose to 65 years.

All this constituted a victory. During the same period, in almost all the countries ruled by the revisionists living costs were not lowered in the least, on the contrary, in some of them they even rose higher.

The successful attainment of the principal aims of the 3rd five-year plan demonstrated the revolutionary spirit of the communists and all the Albanian working people, their great moral and political strength and superiority over the imperialists and revisionists. This five-year period proved that the basis on which the socialist economy of Albania had been built was unbreakable, that the line pursued by our Party in the socialist construction of the country was correct. The struggle to fulfil the plan, interwoven with the fierce political and ideological struggle against imperialism and revisionism, strengthened the unity of the people around the Party, raised the revolutionary spirit of the working masses to a higher level and increased their confidence in their own strength and ability. The experience of the Party and the people during the 1961-1965 period proved that the socialist construction of the country could be continued with success even in the difficult conditions of the imperialist and revisionist encirclement and pressure.

5. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA TO EXPOSE THE DEMAGOGY AND THE TACTICS OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS

The Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Khrushchev continued to violate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary theses of the Moscow Declarations, to make one concession after another to the U.S. imperialists, to fight even harder against the communist and workers' parties that took a revolutionary stand. The modern revisionists directed their main blows against the PLA and the Communist Party of China because these two parties were in the forefront of the struggle against revisionism.

In their fight against Marxism-Leninism, the revisionists resorted to frantic demagogy, exploiting for their own interests the great international authority which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had gained under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and, in particular, speculating on the name of V. I. Lenin in order to spread their own anti-Marxist theses and theories to deceive the masses.

The opportunist, counter-revolutionary policy and activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists split the socialist camp and the international communist movement ever more deeply, undermining the revolutionary movement of the peoples against imperialism. The U.S. imperialists and all the world reactionary forces took full advantage of the weaknesses and concessions of the revisionists, their divisive activity.

The Struggle for the Ideological and Political Defeat of Khrushchevite Revisionism — a Historically Imperative Task

Under these conditions the PLA considered the struggle to defeat Khrushchevite revisionism ideologically and politically an imperative historical duty. For this purpose, it was necessary, first of all, to expose the demagogy and manoeuvres of the Khrushchevite revisionist group, to lay bare its counter-revolutionary policy.

The open attack launched by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the PLA was not a principled polemic about the fundamental problems of the times over which profound differences had arisen in the international communist movement. On the contrary, the Khrushchevite

group used every method to avoid any discussion on problems of principle, because it was aware of its own weakness in such a discussion. It resorted to slanders and lies continually reported by the revisionist propaganda, to intrigues and plots, diversions and other acts of the most vile sort against the PLA. To spread their slanders and lies against the PLA, they even used the rostrums of the congresses of the communist and workers' parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the German Democratic Republic. The aim of the revisionists was to isolate and expel the PLA from the international communist movement, to give «a good lesson» to all who would dare oppose their anti-Marxist course.

The PLA did not adopt the revisionist position. It was not caught up in trivialities and banalities. It continued its struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism in the ideological sphere, exposing all its anti-Marxist points of view, its inconsistencies, its eclecticism, its swinging from opportunism to adventurism, and its diversionist activity. The articles of «Zëri i Popullit» against revisionism, translated into several languages and reprinted in pamphlets and broadcast by the radio, served as a powerful and keen-edged weapon in the hands of the Party in its principled struggle in defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

These materials and other documents of the PLA, together with those of the Communist Party of China, dealt crushing blows at the demagogy of the Khrushchev group and exposed their true features as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as violators of the joint Declarations of the communist and workers' parties and splitters of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The PLA exposed the attempts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to relegate the Declaration of the second meeting of Moscow to oblivion, to present it as a «stereotype», as a «short-lived compromise document», while presenting the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (the code of revisionism approved at the 22nd Congress) as a «manifesto of world communism».

The Soviet revisionist leadership tried to justify before world public opinion its arbitrary rehabilitation of the Tito clique and its reconciliation and collaboration with it in all spheres — ideological, political and economic, pretending that the Yugoslav leaders had allegedly «corrected many of their previous errors» and «effected great changes in their internal and foreign policy».

Tito and the other Yugoslav revisionist leaders themselves repeatedly declared that they had changed nothing either in their policy or their program and that they had no intention of making any changes in the future. Only the Khrushchevite revisionists, the PLA pointed out, had changed their stand and had violated the Moscow Declarations, falling into line with the Tito clique and trying their best to impose their line of rapprochement and reconciliation with Tito on the entire international communist movement.

The PLA brought out in the open the real meaning of the hue and cry the Khrushchevite revisionists were raising about their «struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism as the main danger in the international communist movement». This served them as a weapon to attack the Communist Party of China, the PLA and the other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, to cloak their struggle against Marxism-Leninism and to justify their departure from the decisions of the Moscow meeting which defined revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement. «The struggle against dogmatism» was an old and well-known tactic which the revisionists of all periods have used against Marxism-Leninism.

The PLA exposed more fully the opportunism of the Soviet revisionist leadership and its capitulation to U.S. imperialism, its contemptuous disregard for the tasks set down by the Moscow meeting for the irreconcilable struggle against imperialism. It made clear that the essence of the Khrushchevite revisionist line consisted in the Soviet-U.S. friendship and collaboration, an alliance between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism (transformed into a new kind of imperialism) to dominate the world. It was not accidental that the Khrushchevite revisionists made very little or no mention at all of U.S. imperialism as the greatest enemy of the peoples, the world gendarme and the chief danger to peace in the world. It was not accidental that they began to describe German revanchism as the principal enemy and danger. Meanwhile, they were doing their utmost to create the idea that the U.S. imperialists had scaled down almost to the point of giving up their aggressive aims toward the socialist countries, because they were afraid of the outbreak of thermonuclear war! In this way they sought to justify their rapprochement and collaboration with imperialism.

This pro-imperialist policy led the Soviet revisionist leadership to shameful capitulation to U.S. imperialism. In 1960 they approved the sending to the Congo of the so-called international missions and forces (of the UNO), which were in reality tools of U.S. policy, to suppress the liberation struggle of the Congolese people. As a consequence of U.S. threats in 1962, they withdrew from Cuba the missiles, planes and military specialists they had sent there only a little while before, accepting at the same time U.S. «international» control over Soviet ships and Cuban territory. In a similar manner they gave up completely the idea of signing a peace treaty with Germany, of solving the German problem in general and of West

Berlin in particular, thus committing an act of high treason toward the German people, the socialist camp, the people of Europe and the world.

The Khrushchev group committed another act of submission and treachery when, together with the heads of U.S. and British imperialism, it signed the ill-famed Moscow Treaty on a partial banning of nuclear weapons tests in August 1963. The PLA exposed this measure as an imperialist-revisionist plot of the two great powers — USA and USSR — to preserve their nuclear monopoly. It was a hoax to deceive the peoples and a means which ensured neither the prevention of the use nor the destruction of nuclear arms stocks. On the contrary, this treaty gave the U.S. imperialists the possibility of enlarging their nuclear arsenal, incited imperialist aggression and increased the danger of predatory wars. Time fully vindicated these assessments by the PLA.

In a special declaration the Government of the People's Republic of Albania exposed the Moscow Treaty and demanded that the socialist states reject it as an agreement in direct opposition to the Warsaw Treaty and the common line of the communist and workers' parties and called on them to condemn this treacherous act of the Soviet Government.

The PLA made an all-round exposure of the aims and attempts of the Khrushchev group to coordinate its actions with U.S. imperialism against the socialist countries, especially against the People's Republic of China. Just like the imperialists, the revisionists now called China the chief common enemy. Therefore all their acts bore the anti-Chinese brand. The Moscow Treaty was directed against revolutionary China, too, in that it aimed at preventing the latter from becoming a nuclear power. In order to oppose China, the Soviet leadership gave up signing a peace treaty with Germany and insisted on concluding a so-called «non-aggression treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty» to make it possible for the U.S. to transfer its troops from Europe to Southeast Asia. Because of their hostility to China, the Soviet revisionists openly took the side of the Indian reaction in the Chinese-Indian conflict unleashed by India in October 1962 and gave the anti-people's bourgeois Indian Government unsparing moral and material assistance, even supplying it with weapons.

The PLA exposed the great state predatory aims of the Soviet leadership which was violating the economic independence and national sovereignty of the socialist states through the «Council of Mutual Economic Assistance» (COMECON) under the guise of an «international division of labor, cooperation and specialization». It exposed the attempts to create within COMECON and the Warsaw Treaty supra-national organisms under the control of the Soviet Government.

Parallel with their rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists, the Khrushchevite revisionists, fully conscious of what they were doing, followed the line of rapprochement with the social democrats and all the other anti-communist forces, using them as connecting bridges with imperialism. This was a logical result of their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. The drawing together of the revisionists with the social democrats, with these proven agents of the international bourgeoisie, had a natural basis in their common anti-Marxist ideology. It is on this basis that the modern revisionists are merging completely with the social democrats into a single anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary trend.

It was not accidental that the imperialists, the Titoites, social democrats and other spokesmen of the bourgeoisie were ready to give help and support of various kinds to the course of the Soviet leadership, lavishing praise on

Khrushchev as a «champion of peace». The PLA made it clear that imperialism and its lackeys did not assist and praise Khrushchev as a communist. They did so because they saw in him and in his group their best means of wrecking the socialist order and communism.

To Draw a Clear-cut Line of Demarcation from Revisionism

In the conditions of the open betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists the PLA launched the slogan: **«Let us draw once and for all a clear-cut line of demarcation from revisionism in all spheres».**[1]

This was an essential demand for the struggle against imperialism, for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the victory of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. Upon the masses of communists and workers of those countries in the communist and workers' parties of which the revisionists had come to power, fell the great historic duty to raise their voice to say «stop» and quickly put revisionism and the revisionists in their proper place. Revolution and counter-revolution, proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, a variant of which is revisionism, cannot coexist for long, either in the framework of one party or in the framework of the movement as a whole.

The determined struggle of the PLA against revisionism, a struggle permeated with the powerful logic of Marxist-Leninist principles and factual truth, echoed widely throughout the world. Thousands of letters from revolutionary communists and progressive-minded people all over the world poured in to the address of the PLA. In their letters they thanked the PLA for the courageous and principled struggle it was conducting against Khrushchevite revisionism and asked for copies of «Zëri i Popullit» articles and other documents. The revisionists tried by every means to prevent the communists of their countries becoming acquainted with the materials of the PLA. They acted in the same way toward the materials of the Communist Party of China. Against all those who dared to ask for such materials severe punitive measures, reaching as far as expulsion from the party, were taken.

The resistance to revisionism was growing everywhere. A great number of revolutionary communists broke away from the revisionist leaders. In a number of countries (Australia, Ceylon, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Austria, England, Holland, Spain, Italy, France, etc.) new Marxist-Leninist communist parties, revolutionary groups and centres to fight revisionism were set up.

Faced with the pressure of the masses of communists and peoples, threatened with the danger of complete exposure, the Khrushchev group began to manoeuvre and to use new forms of demagogy to conceal its divisive and counter-revolutionary activity. It began making a great fuss about the preservation of unity. When it launched its attack against the PLA, it called the polemics «the culmination of Leninist principle», whereas at the Congress of the German United Socialist Party in January 1963, it suddenly demanded the cessation of polemics (!), after it had vented all its spleen against the PLA and the Communist Party of China.

The PLA unmasked these tactics of the Soviet leadership as bluff and hypocrisy.

> «To talk about unity in the communist movement and the socialist camp, while, over fundamental problems, trampling underfoot at every step

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[1] «A Great Betrayal of Marxism-Leninism», «Zëri i Popullit», October 13, 1962.

> the conclusions of the Moscow Declarations and pursuing a line counter to the interest of the peoples and socialism, as the Khrushchevite group is doing, means to deceive the communists and the peoples through demagogy, to sow discord or to call for a false unity based on an anti-Marxist revisionist platform».[1]

The PLA made it clear that there could be no unity with the splitters of and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, with the Titoites, Togliattists or Khrushchevites. Unity in the international communist movement could be established only on a revolutionary basis, without revisionists and in irreconcilable struggle with revisionism. True and stable unity can be built only upon the foundations of proletarian ideology.

It was not the first time that the workers' and communist movement had found itself facing a major betrayal like this of the modern revisionists. Lenin and the Leninists had severed all connections with the treacherous chiefs of the Second International and had succeeded in establishing a steel-like unity in the international communist movement only by throwing out all the renegades and by fighting boldly and mercilessly against opportunism and revisionism of every type.

In order to lay bare the fraudulent character of the call for unity made by the revisionists, the PLA proposed to the Soviet leadership that it take the courage to make a public self-criticism, just as it had publicly launched an unjust attack on the PLA, that it denounce its anti-Albanian activity, retract its call to the Albanian people for counter-revolution, urging them to overthrow their leadership, and all the monstrous slanders and accusations against Albania; that the PLA and CPSU jointly publish all the materials and official documents concerning the disagreements between the two parties in order to help the communists and workers of the two countries to judge objectively who is right; that the Soviet leaders establish all the conditions of complete equality for bilateral talks between the PLA and the CPSU.

But, as expected, the Khrushchev group turned a deaf ear to these proposals because it was not sincere about holding talks on the basis of equality, nor was it for a just solution of the misunderstandings or for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While calling for «unity» it continued its all-round frenzied hostile activity against the PLA and the People's Republic of Albania, as well as against the other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties. In July 1963, the Soviet leadership unleashed a frontal attack of slanders and foul invective against the Communist Party of China and the general line of the international communist movement.

This demonstrated once again who were the real splitters of the unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement, and that the «unity» the Khrushchev group spoke of was aimed only at concealing its own monstrous treachery. Therefore,

> «the struggle for a real Marxist-Leninist unity today,» the PLA declared, «is inseparable from the struggle against the splitters, against modern revisionism represented by the Khrushchev-Tito group, against their points of view and activities, which have jeopardized not only the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement,

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[1] «For the Militant Unity of the Communist Movement Under the Victorious Banner of Marxism-Leninism», «Zëri i Popullit», February 7, 1963.

> but the very fate of socialism and communism in the world».[1]

In the situation of the split brought about by the Soviet revisionist leadership in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, the PLA considered it reasonable, on the 5th of October 1964, to address an Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

> «In this letter we want to tell you, with an open heart and fraternal sincerity, the truth which N. Khrushchev has kept from you for years on end. He has deceived and is deceiving you. . . .
>
> The Party of Labor of Albania turns to you because it thinks that in this situation your responsibility and role are of historic significance. You are the only force that can rescue the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of Great October, and the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks from the blind alley into which N. Khrushchev has led it, that can vindicate Marxism-Leninism, the honor and the dignity of the Soviet Union, that can raise high the revolutionary banner of your Party which N. Khrushchev has covered with shame».[2]

In this letter, the Central Committee of the PLA exposed the attempt of the Soviet revisionist leaders to summon a divisive international meeting of only its own followers. The meeting that Khrushchev wanted to call in December 1964 was illegal because it was contrary to the rules jointly agreed upon by the communist and workers' parties in November 1960, in Moscow. By calling such a meeting without any previous consultation with many other parties the Soviet leadership violated the principle of equality and independence of the communist and workers' parties, tried to impose its own will on them. By hurriedly summoning a so-called «international meeting of the communist and workers' parties» Khrushchev hoped to attain two objectives: to condemn those communist parties (like the Communist Party of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, etc.) that opposed his revisionist course and «expel» them from the socialist camp and the communist movement; to strengthen the badly shaken ranks of the revisionist camp, place all the revisionists under his control and impose his own will on them.

The PLA made it clear once again that it was in favor of only such meeting of the communist and workers' parties as would be called on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declarations, which would serve real unity, and not sow dissension. No meeting could be held and no unity attained on the basis of revisionism. The existing circumstances did not permit the holding of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. If the revisionists went on with their divisive meeting, the PLA pointed out, this would be very good because they would bear the brand of treachery and splittism, and the day of their meeting would go down in history as «the day which marked their final catastrophe».

The letter exposed the lies of Khrushchev and his group who dubbed the period following the death of J. V. Stalin as a «period of the triumphant march toward communism», as «the beginning of the true history of the Soviet Union». With facts it demonstrated the colossal damage and evils which Khrushchev and his clique had brought and were bringing the Soviet Union and international communism. The PLA pointed out that the repeated so-called reforms and counter-reforms carried out by Khrushchev and his group in the economic field were nothing other than forms and methods of administration borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists. These reforms were part and parcel of the revisionist course which was leading the Soviet Union not toward communism, as the Khrushchevite revisionists claimed, but toward the restoration of capitalism.

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[1] «N. Khrushchev Unfolds the Banner of Division and Treachery», «Zëri i Popullit», October 4, 1963.

[2] «Open Letter of the Central Committee of the PLA Addressed to the Members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union», October 5, 1964, «Zëri i Popullit», October 6, 1964.

The PLA called on the Soviet communists to understand clearly the great danger looming over the Soviet Union and to defeat the revisionist and imperialist plots hatched against their Soviet land and Marxism-Leninism. It stressed once more that the Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, remained always sacred to the Albanian communists, but they could not agree with those who said «we should always be with the Soviet Union, right or wrong». Only the traitors think thus. The PLA felt that it was its internationalist duty to fight to the end to liquidate the revisionist and imperialist plots, to defend the Soviet Union against the Khrushchev group which had seized the leadership of the CPSU and to defend Marxism-Leninism.

Cherish No Illusions About the New Soviet Leaders. Fight to the End Against Khrushchevite Revisionism

The resolute and principled stand of the Communist Party of China, of the PLA and of the other Marxist-Leninist revolutionary forces exposed the revisionist course, the adventurist and opportunist activity of N. Khrushchev and his group. Revisionism encountered the insurmountable resistance of the revolutionaries all over the world. In all fields — political, economic and ideological, on an international and national scale, it suffered a series of defeats. Besides this, quarrels and disagreements broke out in the ranks of the revisionists. This was made clear in Togliatti's «Testament», which advocated complete detachment from the hegemony of the Khrushchev group and called for its replacement with «polycentrism». Togliatti also favored a more profound and rapid liberalization in the Soviet state power. The reserved attitude maintained by a number of revisionist leaders of various countries toward the international factionist meeting of their parties demanded by Khrushchev, also revealed the dissension in the revisionist ranks. Khrushchevite revisionism was gripped by crisis.

In order to avoid complete defeat for their anti-Marxist line, in October 1964 the Soviet revisionists were forced to remove from the political scene Khrushchev — their chief, the architect of the revisionist course of the 20th Congress and of the anti-Marxist program of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

The fall of Khrushchev was a heavy blow to all the modern revisionists and a great victory for Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary forces of the world. This event proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA and its principled struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.

The new Soviet leadership — Brezhnev and Kosygin and Co. — tried hard to advertise the downfall of Khrushchev as a measure proceeding from «lofty Leninist principles» and to give the impression that it was correcting all the «excesses» in the practice of their notorious chief, his «arbitrariness» and «intolerable subjectivism». But it did not criticize Khrushchev openly, declaring at the same time that it would follow unhesitatingly the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and carry out the program adopted by the 22nd Congress which had been worked out jointly by Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin and the other revisionist chiefs.

The PLA nurtured not the slightest hope that, with the departure of Khrushchev, the new Soviet leadership would correct its errors and embark on a Marxist-Leninist course.

> «The fall of Khrushchev,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «is a great victory, but it does not mark the end of Khrushchevite revisionism, nor of modern revisionism in general. . . . The course, policy and social and economic roots of revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism itself, have not been liquidated together with him (Khrushchev — Editor). That is why the PLA, like all the true revolutionaries, should not and will not nurture any illusions in this direction».[1]

A change could be brought about only if the ideological and political platform of revisionism, the Khrushchevite course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were done away with, only if all the evils that Khrushchevite revisionism had brought to the socialist camp and international communism were liquidated.

First of all, J. V. Stalin should be given his proper place, rehabilitating him as a great Marxist-Leninist, irrespective of some small and unimportant errors that he might have made.

To re-establish the unity of the socialist camp, the Soviet leadership should renounce its chauvinist policy and practice, its intervention in and pressure on the other socialist states, its tendency to command the socialist camp. The Soviet Government should publicly acknowledge its errors and the material damage it had inflicted on the People's Republic of Albania with its unilateral anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activity.

The re-establishment of the unity of the socialist camp on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs, and of reciprocal fraternal help, would serve as the linchpin for reinstating unity in the international communist movement. Apart from this, there would be no unity in the communist movement as long as the Soviet leaders nourished the hope of playing the role of «conductor», demanding that the communist and workers' parties blindly follow their line, which was the line of only one party.

> *«Our Party is of the opinion that the sole guide of the communists is Marxism-Leninism, it leads them; it is Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism that unite them in their great struggle».*[1]

Neither can there be any real unity so long as the new Soviet leaders persist in following the Khrushchevite line of collaboration and fraternization with the Tito clique, with this tested agency of U.S. imperialism.

The real unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement will be attained only through the determined struggle of principle of the Marxist-Leninists against modern revisionism.

> «Our Party has fought and will continue to fight consistently against modern revisionism, be it

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Twenty Years of Socialist Albania. Speech on the 20th Anniversary of the Liberation of the Fatherland, November 28, 1964, Tirana, 1964, p. 47.

[1] Ibid., p. 71.

> Khrushchevite or Titoite, until its complete defeat as a retrogressive line, an anti-Marxist course, as the ideology and policy which found its concrete expression in the revisionist decisions of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union».[1]

With Khrushchev's downfall, the Soviet revisionists and those who followed them resorted to new tactics different from that of their chief. They gave up the sensationalism, the advertising and all the demonstrative noise used by Khrushchev. They stopped the open «polemics», while quietly but persistently continuing the Khrushchevite revisionist course, their open and secret collaboration with U.S. imperialism in all fields, their hostile activity against the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Albania. They resorted to a more subtle and clever demagogy in order to hoodwink the masses and to disarm and neutralize the wavering. They began talking in a louder tone about the «unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement», to point out that «the misunderstandings are not over important questions of principle», that «the things that unite us are more numerous and stronger than those that divide us». Now it was not difficult to find in the speeches of the new Soviet leaders and in the revisionist propaganda statements in support of the «national-liberation struggle of the peoples», of a «common anti-imperialist front», of «condemnation for the aggressive activities of U.S. imperialism». But, of course, everything was done in a very subtle way, with tact and caution, to avoid offending the chiefs of imperialism.

The PLA exposed the demagogy of the new Khrushchevite leaders, condemned their deceptive manoeuvres and warned of the danger presented by their new tactics. It argued with undeniable facts that they were for unity only in words, whereas in deeds they were splitters; they supported the national-liberation struggles only in words, whereas in deeds they undermined them; they were anti-imperialists only in words, whereas in deeds they were pro-imperialists.

In January 1965, through the Government of the People's Republic of Poland, the Khrushchevite revisionists had the impudence to extend a formal invitation to the People's Republic of Albania to take part in a meeting of the Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, entirely disregarding the situation that they themselves had created for Albania within this treaty, as if nothing had happened, as if they had not so ruthlessly trampled underfoot its sovereignty. And what is more, by inviting it to such a meeting, the revisionists intended to make the People's Republic of Albania a collaborator in their plan of rapprochement with U.S. imperialism.

The Albanian Government was fully justified in refusing to participate in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty so long as conditions of equality and respect of its sovereign rights were not created for the People's Republic of Albania as a member of this treaty. It made it clear that the People's Republic of Albania would take part in the meetings of the Warsaw Treaty only when all its rights stipulated by this treaty had been guaranteed; when all the violations of this treaty by the Soviet leadership had been condemned; when the Soviet Government had made good all the material damage it had inflicted on the People's Republic of Albania; when all the participating governments and states had taken measures for the normalization of diplomatic relations with the PRA; when the Albanian Government had been handed copies of all the protocols and decisions of political, economic and military character taken by the Warsaw Treaty members in its absence.

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[1] Ibid.

At the same time, the Albanian Government felt it its duty to express its opinion on the problems to be taken up at the meeting which was supposed to discuss means of prohibiting the equipment of West Germany with nuclear weapons.

For the effective prevention of the armament of the German revanchists with nuclear weapons and the restraint of their aggressive intentions, the People's Republic of Albania considered it necessary, first of all, that the Soviet leadership and the governments of those socialist countries following it should give up collaborating and conspiring with the U.S. imperialists. Without the help and support of U.S. imperialism, West Germany could not be equipped with nuclear arms, nor would it dare launch an attack against its neighboring countries. The Albanian Government considered it absolutely necessary that the ill-famed Moscow Treaty, which had encouraged U.S. imperialism and German revanchism to aggressive and diversionist acts, should be denounced as soon as possible. It demanded that the Warsaw Treaty should replace its course of capitulation, imposed by the Khrushchevite revisionists, with a common revolutionary policy aimed at the elimination of the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists and German revanchists. The Albanian Government considered the signing of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic as very urgent and charged the Soviet Government with grave responsibility for delaying and, finally, for giving up, the signing of this treaty. It proposed that the Warsaw Treaty organization should declare publicly that it would arm all the socialist states, and arm them in fact, with nuclear weapons, if the USA armed the Federal Republic of Germany with such weapons.

Naturally, the Khrushchevite revisionists could not accept any of these proposals of the People's Republic of Albania or renounce their policy of collaboration with and capitulation to U.S. imperialism, because it was not by accident that they followed such a policy.

The hypocrisy of the revisionists' talk about unity became obvious when they organized their divisive meeting in March 1965. It took place according to Khrushchev's plan, with the difference that, for demagogical reasons, his successors named it not a «meeting», but a «consultative gathering» of the communist and workers' parties, while their hostile aims were not expressed in such severe terms as planned. Seven out of the twenty-six parties invited by the revisionists to this «gathering» failed to participate. Among these were the PLA, the Communist Party of China, and others.

The PLA immediately condemned this meeting as absolutely illegal, because it had been summoned arbitrarily without consultation with a number of parties and without consideration of their objections. The proceedings of the divisive meeting of March 1965 had a pro-imperialist content although a few toned-down words against imperialism were uttered for demagogical purposes. None of the pro-imperialist acts of the Soviet Government was condemned. On the contrary, determination was expressed to persist in the general line of peaceful coexistence and collaboration with the USA, regardless of the fact that only three weeks before the U.S. imperialists had begun their piratical air bombardment of a socialist country — the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The contradictory two-faced attitude of the Soviet leadership and of the other revisionists toward the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, supporting the Vietnamese people in words and collaborating with the U.S. aggressors against the Vietnamese people and the People's Republic of China in deeds, spoke clearly of their great treachery to the world's revolutionary movement.

The PLA exposed the deafening noise made about Soviet «aid» to Vietnam. This was a miserly aid to a heroic people and a fraternal socialist country, negligible in quantity in comparison with the colossal possibilities of the Soviet Union and quite inappropriate in quality. The principal aim of this aid was to give the Soviet leaders the «right» to interfere in the Vietnam problem and, while not harming U.S. interests, to strike bargains with the U.S. aggressors in order to quell the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese and of the other peoples of Southeast Asia and establish an imperialist-revisionist ring of fire around China.

This was precisely the objective of the unceasing efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to achieve a «peaceful solution» of the war in Vietnam, by exerting pressure on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, to have them accept the conditions of the U.S. aggressors.

The PLA and all the Albanian people immediately appraised the criminal U.S. aggression against the fraternal people of Vietnam as an aggression against their own country, an aggression against the socialist camp and all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. They expressed their solidarity with the people of South and North Vietnam and gave them every possible support and aid.

The PLA exposed the real features of the Khrushchevite revisionists as enemies of all the peoples engaged in revolutionary struggles against imperialism.

The Party regarded the uncompromising struggle of principle for the complete victory over revisionism as the struggle for the victory of socialism.

«The Party of Labor of Albania and the Albanian people are justly proud that they have never bent the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and have fought sword in hand, against the modern revisionist traitors».[1]

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[1] **Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at a Meeting with Electors on July 8, 1966. Reproduced from «Zëri i Popullit», July 9, 1966.**

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA TO FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZE ITSELF AND THE WHOLE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

1. DEEPENING THE MASS LINE

All-round reliance on the masses has been the main factor in all the victories of the Party. It was precisely this reliance that created the conditions for the Party to struggle with such success against Khrushchevite revisionism, to cope with the imperialist-revisionist blockade and to ensure the fulfilment of the 3rd five-year plan.

In the work to carry out its economic, cultural, ideological and political tasks, in the fight against imperialism and modern revisionism, during the period of the 3rd five-year plan the PLA greatly enriched its experience of the political leadership, organization and education of the masses.

From the daily practice of the Party and the masses, the need emerged for new and more versatile forms, a more revolutionary style and method of work of the Party and the organs of the state. This required better utilization of the inexhaustible creative abilities of the people for the benefit of socialist construction, ensuring a more active and direct participation by the laboring masses in the management and development of economy and culture and the administration of the country.

This was precisely the aim of the October 1965 Call of the Central Committee of the PLA and of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania to the Albanian people to participate in drawing up the 4th five-year plan. Unlike former discussions organized with the popular masses for the drafting of five-year plans, in this case no detailed figures defined from above were given, but only some main figures for general guidelines.

Responding to the call of the Party, the masses of the people discussed the indices of the 4th five-year plan in such a lively and creative manner, with such a profound and revolutionary sense of responsibility as never before. In the plan they proposed to the Party and government, numerous indices exceeded even the most optimistic estimates by the state and economic organs. The proposals of the masses opened up great possibilities for increasing industrial and agricultural production, especially for the production of grain, potatoes, etc. It was thus that the foundations of a revolutionary and mobilizing five-year plan were laid. The broad public discussions on drawing up the 4th five-year plan became a school for the Party organizations, the state institutions and the working masses in general.

The lofty revolutionary spirit that permeated this popular discussion assisted the Party to see more clearly the weaknesses and deficiencies in its work and that of the state organs, to analyse its activity up to date with a critical eye and to draw important lessons for the taking of a series of radical measures for improving its work, for further revolutionizing itself and the entire life of the country.

The Fight Against Bureaucracy, for a Revolutionary Method and Style of Work

In order to further revolutionize the Party and state apparatus and the entire life of the country, it was imperative, first of all, to root out bureaucracy.

The Party has always regarded bureaucracy and fought it as the greatest of evils for its apparatus and the state organs. Bureaucracy leads to the alienation of the Party from the masses, paralyses the initiative and creative spirit of the masses, prevents their energetic and direct participation in managing the economy and the administration of the country. Thus, it does away with democracy and transforms the state apparatus into a cumbersome machine, difficult to handle, and leads it toward degeneration.

Therefore, the Party could not tolerate or permit the bureaucratic distortions, the dangerous malady of bureaucracy, which had lodged in the state, economic and Party apparatus, and which had caused considerable damage.

Various officials of the central and local state apparatuses and of economic organs depended more on administrative measures, red tape, rules and regulations than on energetic political work to convince the people. On many occasions, the proletarian policy of the Party was not put in the forefront of practical activity, but matters were viewed and judged from the angle of the technocrat, the official, of the apolitical professionalist. Making a fetish of administrative measures, the mania for drafting piles of notes, regulations and ordinances, filling in as many statistics and formalities as possible, encumbering laws and codes with many unnecessary articles, had led to the inflation of the state and economic apparatuses, to office employees losing contact with actual life. All these things had brought about impermissible delays in work, had weakened the role of the people's councils and the direct participation of the masses in the management of the economy and administration of the country. The bureaucratic distortions were in flagrant contradiction to the revolutionary line of the Party, to the profoundly democratic essence of the socialist state itself, in which all power belongs to the working people of town and countryside.

The bureaucratic distortions and manifestations had their roots: in the existence of remnants of the method and style of the bourgeois state apparatus which had infiltrated into the new state apparatus through the employees of the old state administration whom the Party considered as honest patriots, loyal to people's power, and had drawn in to serve the cause of the people; in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals which were still alive in the consciousness of the officials, even of communist officials; in the fact that, on some occasions, foreign experience was adopted without careful study, without being first examined with a critical eye and adapted to the concrete conditions of the country; finally, in the fact that in practice the dangerous malady of bureaucracy had been underrated by the state and Party organs. They were a manifestation of the pressure exerted by the class enemy and its ideology on the Party and state apparatus.

Bureaucratic attitudes and actions served as the soil for the formation of a privileged stratum of officials and intellectuals, for the emergence of revisionism and, consequently, opened the road to the restoration of capitalism. The Party faced this danger. On the direct initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, it launched a merciless campaign against bureaucracy, to eradicate it completely.

The Central Committee issued the directive that the repugnant practice of excessive notes, orders, regulations, evidences and formalities should be abandoned, retaining only an indispensable minimum of them. An end was to be put to numerous and prolonged meetings, the centre of gravity of the whole work shifted from red tape and administrative orders to living work with the people. Instructions were given to do away with the bureaucratic tutelage of higher state and Party organs over lower organs, to fight to have the people's councils and their executive organs use all their rights under the law, just as the local organs of the Party should avail themselves of all their rights as envisaged in the Party Constitution. Besides, an extension of the rights of the local government and Party organs was to be taken up for further study. Every Party or state organ, every cadre should bear full responsibility for the tasks they had been entrusted with and should act with initiative and courage in solving problems, always putting proletarian politics in command. The leadership of the Party demanded the unhesitating rejection of the ugly practice of commandism by some state or Party organs, along with arrogant or careless attitudes toward the working people, disregard for criticism and smothering the voice of the masses. It instructed that bureaucratic control should be rejected and replaced with a control which would verify in the tide of life, of revolutionary practice, not only the strict carrying out of decisions and tasks, but also their correctness and accuracy. Control from above is fruitful, corrective and mobilizing when it relies on the rigorous day-to-day control by the working masses from below over the state organs and apparatuses, over the officials of all levels.

In the context of the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship in all its links, the leadership of the Party deemed it necessary to make a thorough reorganization of the system of management, allowing a wider scope of activity for the base, stimulating its initiative and reinforcing it with qualified cadres from the centre.

The campaign launched by the Party for uprooting bureaucracy immediately made a more correct redistribution of cadres and a reduction and simplification of the administrative personnel indispensable. The Central Committee made the fulfilment of this task a problem of all the communists and working people, so that it would be solved not entirely through administrative measures, but by relying fundamentally on the people's will and lofty socialist patriotism. The cadres and the employees of the administration responded 'en masse' to the Party's call to work on the main front, that of production. This was a repetition of the glorious traditions of the National-liberation War and of the voluntary mass actions of the youth during the early years after liberation. The Party gave its full backing to this revolutionary initiative, considering it as an example of lofty patriotism and communist morality which put the interests of the Fatherland and socialism above personal interests.

The Central Committee issued instructions for a critical re-examination of all the main laws and decrees. The opinion of the masses should be solicited and the laws reformulated with the broad participation of the people. Thus, the laws would be divested of unnecessary clauses, of everything obsolete, superfluous or alien and of confused formulations, so as to make them as simple, understandable and educative as possible.

Other measures of very great revolutionary importance taken by the Central Committee of the Party were: the decision on the readjustment of the ratio between high, medium and low salaries, the decisions on reinstating political commissars and creating Party committees in the army and on abolishing military ranks.

The regulation of the pay ratios affected only the high salaries of a number of functionaries of the state and Party apparatus, of scientific and cultural establishments, without changing the medium and lower wages. The distinction between higher and lower wages in the People's Republic of Albania has never been greatly accentuated, for the Party has never permitted such a thing. This distinction could not be compared with the great gulf existing between the pay of the workers and lower employees, on the one hand, and the pay of the officials, cadres, top and even medium level intelligentsia in the countries in which the revisionists hold sway, on the other. Nevertheless, the Party considered it indispensable that the ratio between high and low wages should be further reduced. This was dictated by the need to bring the living standard of the leading cadres and of the higher cadres of culture and science as close as possible to that of the working people of the country in general. This measure was taken in order to blow up every bridge and block all paths which lead to the detachment of the cadres from the masses of the people, which unduly elevate office work and arouse a contemptuous stand toward work in production. By means of this measure, the way was blocked to inclinations toward personal comfort and profit which lead to the loss of the revolutionary spirit, to the creation of a favorable ground for petty-bourgeois dissipation and to the spread of revisionist views. At the same time, the Party was careful not to go over to egalitarianism or allow the spread of this idea which is mistaken and harmful in the phase of socialist society. Administrative and qualified work was to be appreciated in the future, too, but always in conformity with the actual conditions of the country.

The decision on the re-establishment of political commissars, setting up Party committees and abolishing military rank in the army was taken for the purpose of further strengthening the links between the armed forces of the Republic and the people, and between the military cadres and the rank and file of the army, of raising and improving their ideological and political preparation as well as their fighting capacities and readiness, of lifting the leadership of the Party in the army to a higher level.

These measures were a revival of the traditions of the National-liberation Army the direction of which was carried out jointly by Party committees, commanders and political commissars who did not wear badges of rank or other marks to distinguish them from the rank and file fighters. The establishment of rank in the army, which was taken at the Anti-fascist Congress of Përmet in May 1944, and the single command in the detachments and units in the period after liberation played an important role in giving the People's Army the character of a modern regular army highly organized and disciplined. The decision to award military rank on the eve of the liberation of the country as well as a series of other measures were taken also because of the foreign factor. This was done in order to present the new Albanian State born from the people's revolution as having all the formal attributes of a state, endowed with all legal rights to represent the Albanian people in the international arena. At that time, these measures dealt a blow at world imperialist reaction which tried to present the Albanian State of people's democracy as «illegal» and the National-liberation Army as a grouping of «mercenary bands».

But, under the new conditions, the retention of army rank and single commands, in spite of all the benefits they had brought in their time, would have had evil consequences. They hindered the establishment of close comradely relations between the leading cadres and the masses of the soldiers, nurtured petty-bourgeois haughtiness and arrogance, restricted the development of creative initiative and were thus fraught with the danger of alienating the officers and generals from the masses.

The new decisions of the Central Committee in connection with the army averted this danger, paving the way for raising higher the political and military preparedness of the armed forces, for their revolutionization, for increasing the defense capacity of the Fatherland. These decisions were taken by the Central Committee after lively discussions and consultations with the communists, officers and generals and all the armymen.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee and the Revolutionary Drive for the Application of the Teachings of the Party

In March 1966 the Central Committee decided to address an Open Letter to all the communists, working people, officers and soldiers, in which the radical revolutionary measures the Party had taken during the recent months were reported to them and a call was made for a mighty struggle to carry out the tasks deriving from these measures.

The activity and experience of the Party during the recent years of intensive revolutionary work and struggle were summed up in this letter in a Marxist-Leninist way. As always, the Party spoke openly to the people about both its successes and victories and its mistakes and shortcomings.

In order to fulfil with honor the tasks which lay ahead, the Central Committee demanded that all the communists and working people should be guided in their work and in their lives by the principle of always putting proletarian politics first. That is to say,

> «in the first place, that every communist and worker should always view things from a political angle: each problem, whether economic, administrative or technical, whether of a state or any other character, should be assessed as to how much it is in the interests of the people, the Fatherland and socialism».[1]

The continuous and consistent implementation of the mass line by the Party in all fields of life, in the entire activity of the Party and people's state power, would be another guarantee for further revolutionizing the life of the country. This would be achieved, as always, by relying strongly upon the masses of the people. The Party demanded that the voice of the masses should be listened to more carefully, that their initiative and creative spirit be developed in an all-round way, that their direct and active participation in the management of the economy and administration of the country, in the struggle against bureaucratic distortions, against any unscrupulous act that might be detected in the work of the various Party or state functionaries, should be ensured on a still wider scale.

> «The people are above all. This is the fundamental principle that has guided and continues to guide the Party and the organs of the people's power in all their activity. The people's power and its organs are weapons in the hands of the people themselves and serve them to carry the cause of socialist construction successfully ahead. Accordingly, the official or functionary of our state apparatus, whatever post he may occupy, is nothing but a servant of the people».[2]

In the Open Letter, the Central Committee expressed its conviction that the measures the Party was taking would be understood correctly by all the working people and, first of all, by the communists as measures serving the uninterrupted development of the revolution, accelerating the socialist construction and making the defense of the Fatherland invincible. These measures were directly linked with the communist education and revolutionary class tempering of the working people.

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[1] The Open Letter of the CC of the PLA, March 4, 1966, Tirana, 1966, p. 20.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

> «The complete construction of socialist society requires that each communist and each worker act and think like a revolutionary, every day and every hour, in any work he does or any function he fills; he should always feel that he is the servant of the people, bound to the worker, the peasant and the soldier in life and death, ready at any moment to lay down even his life for the people, the Fatherland, the revolution and communism. . . . This is of importance both for the present and the future of our socialist country; this relates to all the communists and to all the workers but, in particular, it is of vital importance for the younger generation, for those who tomorrow will take the torch of revolution into their hands».[1]

The measures for rooting out bureaucracy and revolutionizing the life of the country constituted a crushing blow to the imperialists and revisionists, to the remnants of the overthrown exploiting classes. These measures destroyed the soil for the activity of the class enemies; they smashed the enemy plans for the overthrow of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism. For this reason, the Central Committee warned that the enemies would try to present these measures in an entirely false light and, in this case, would resort to slander, would describe them as signs of weakness of the people's power and would launch fresh attacks against the PLA in order to shake the faith of the workers in their Party.

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[1] Ibid., p. 5.

> «Therefore, hand in hand with the educative work of persuasion among the masses, the strengthening of vigilance and determination in the struggle against the class enemies is indispensable».[1]

The firm and principled struggle against revisionism greatly assisted the Party in the taking of these radical revolutionary measures. This struggle helped it to understand more profoundly the internal reasons why modern revisionism arose and struck root in the Soviet Union and in many other socialist countries. The bureaucracy which had stifled the Communist Party of the Soviet Union helped the Khrushchevite revisionists seize power. The emergence of a privileged stratum of bureaucratic officials in the state and Party organs, directors of the economy, people of the arts, science and culture, with fat salaries and a very high standard of living in comparison with that of the working masses, became a social basis for the flourishing of revisionist viewpoints, a firm support for the revisionist groups to overthrow the state power and to put the country, step by step, on the road to the restoration of capitalism.

The disclosure of these factors — the roots of revisionism — served as a great lesson for the Party of Labor of Albania on how to do away with every source of this evil, and how to prevent what had occurred in the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist countries from occurring in Albania, too.

The courageous measures taken to root out bureaucracy and revolutionize the life of the country did not change or upset the general line of the Party on the construction of socialist society. They were a creative contribution to the development of the decisions and directives of the Party for the deepening of the socialist revolution. They demonstrated its great strength. Only a party of the working class which loyally implements Marxism-Leninism and persistently pursues a revolutionary policy, a party with a monolithic unity and closely linked with the people, can take such radical measures.

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[1] Ibid., p. 36.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee became a reliable weapon in the hands of the communists and the people as a whole. The radical measures taken by the Party found wholehearted approval and aroused a fiery revolutionary enthusiasm all over the country, mobilizing the Party and the whole people to put them fully into effect.

Within a record time the reorganization of the state and Party apparatus in the centre and in the districts on a sounder revolutionary basis was effected. The administrations of state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives were also reorganized and simplified. The number of ministries was reduced, unnecessary offices and branches were amalgamated or two or more of them were united into one. The staff of the central state administration was reduced by half. About 15,000 cadres of the administration went over to production, especially in the countryside. A good number of cadres, among them top cadres of the Party and the state, were sent from the centre to the base. The simplification of the administrative apparatus was accompanied by a profound reduction of correspondence, thus replacing red tape with living work with the people. Reductions and simplifications were made also in the system of accounting and planning. Numerous tasks in the fields of planning and fixing prices, concentrated in the Council of Ministers, were passed over to the ministries and the executive committees of the district people's councils, always in line with the principle of democratic centralism.

The work in the field of production to put into effect the teachings of the Party and to respond to its demands became enlivened as never before. The planting of potatoes and opening of virgin lands turned into mighty economic-political mass actions which were fulfilled with great success. The People's Army set a brilliant example in these great mass actions. The agricultural production of that year in most crops, particularly in the production of food grain, was bigger than ever before. In 1966, many mountainous agricultural cooperatives, for the first time, produced all the grain to meet their own needs for the year. The plan of industrial production for 1966 was also overfulfilled.

A major movement began, to link mental work with physical work, with production. People engaged in mental work voluntarily went 'en masse' to help the peasantry in agricultural tasks. In line with the decision of the Central Committee to reorganize on a sounder basis the direct participation in production of men engaged in mental work, all the employees of the administration, men and women engaged in scientific and cultural work, started to work in production, particularly in the countryside, one month every year. In addition, tens of thousands of young people from high and middle schools participated in voluntary mass actions of construction and production.

The military and physical training of the population was especially enlivened. This question was being grasped ever better and more profoundly by the masses as an absolute necessity for raising the readiness for the defense and socialist construction of the country.

The elections to the People's Assembly of the PR of Albania, which took place on July 10, 1966, were a wonderful indication of the new revolutionary impulse and the steel-like unity of the people around their Party. Nearly all the electors voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front.

During the elections, according to the Party's instructions, the Democratic Front organization was further enlivened. The activity of the other mass organizations, also, in the communist education of the working people, was raised to a higher level.

At the same time, attempts were made to find new methods of propaganda and agitation, to find more appropriate forms, more understandable for the masses and more mobilizing. There began a systematic struggle to eliminate formalism and schematization in the political-educative work and in the field of social sciences, in order to link them as closely as possible with life.

Thus, a heavy blow was dealt at bureaucracy and a revolutionary turning point was brought about among the workers in their way of thinking, living and behaving.

But the Party considered the measures it took in 1966 for its further revolutionization and that of the life of the country as only the first steps in a long revolutionary process which had to become ever more profound and continue on the ascent.

The Party was well aware that this process would not be developed without obstacles and without effort. The struggle against bureaucracy and for the continuous revolutionization of the life of the country is a class struggle against conservative and bourgeois habits, customs and concepts; it is a struggle between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary activity.

In this struggle the overwhelming majority of the working people marched courageously ahead on the road of the uninterrupted revolution, overcoming every obstacle and difficulty. But there were people who lagged behind or stopped halfway, because they could not find enough strength to break with old habits, customs and concepts, or because they were badly influenced by the revisionist-bourgeois ideology and surrendered to the pressure of the enemy. There were even some communists among them. The Party solved these inevitable non-antagonistic contradictions among the people through tireless, persuasive educational work, giving a hand to the backward and the waverers so that they, too, could advance with the revolutionary pace of the overwhelming majority of the working people.

Practice has shown that, in putting into life new revolutionary ideas, forms and methods, men are hindered and defeated by routine, old concepts, habits and customs which have been implanted in their minds over years. This was the cause of the weaknesses which were apparent in the method and style of the committees and basic organizations of the Party, the state apparatus and the economic organizations. Here was the source of the bureaucratic actions which appeared time after time, of a certain hesitation by a number of people engaged in mental work to link their work more closely and organically with life, with production, to rely more on the masses.

In order to overcome obstacles and difficulties, to prevent old forms, methods, customs and concepts from becoming dangerous, to ensure an uninterrupted revolutionary drive ever on the rise, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed,

> «what is wanted is hard work, sacrifice, heroism, self-denial, political and ideological maturity, technical and organizational ability, and, above all, an iron will and a high sense of socialist duty. It is

> the communists, first of all, who should have these qualities. . . .
>
> . . . We are faced with major, glorious, heavy but sacred tasks. Let us set to work, for neither work nor struggle, nor any kind of sacrifice have frightened or will ever frighten us».[1]

2. THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE PLA. THE TASKS TO ADVANCE THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

The 5th Congress of the Party was held in Tirana, from November 1 to 8, 1966. The congress was attended by 791 delegates with deliberative vote and 43 delegates with consultative vote, representing 63,013 Party members and 3,314 candidate members.

The congress analysed and summed up at a higher level the revolutionary experience of the Party and of the masses of the people, especially over the recent years. It laid down the tasks for the development and deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields as well as for the struggle against the joint imperialist-revisionist front, it made some amendments to the Constitution of the Party and approved the directives of the 4th five-year plan.

Unceasingly Develop and Deepen the Socialist Revolution in All Fields

The proceedings of the 5th Congress revolved around the question of the continuous development and deepening of the revolution in all fields.

For the revolution to proceed without interruption the congress defined as the most important task of the Party

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Speech Delivered at the 17th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, July 13, 1966. Central Archives of the Party.

the development of the class struggle «vigorously and relentlessly until the final victory».[1]

The revisionists do not admit the class struggle within the country at the stage of socialism as an objective and inevitable phenomenon, while, in fact, they use every means to wage the struggle against the working class and the peasantry, for the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in defense of the class interests of the new bourgeoisie, which has arisen in the Soviet Union and in some other socialist countries. They accept the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and the struggle against imperialism only in words, while in practice they carry on not the struggle between classes, but collaboration between antagonist classes, both within each capitalist country and in the international arena.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always implemented correctly the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the class struggle. Nevertheless, the congress deemed it indispensable that the Party should develop in the communists and all the working people a more profound and more correct understanding of the class struggle in socialism and, what is of greater importance, have all of them wage this struggle resolutely and in all fields, especially in the field of ideology and culture.

First of all, the congress made it clear that, contrary to the viewpoints of the revisionists who consider the class struggle in socialism as overcome, the PLA

> «thinks that the class struggle continues to be one of the main motive forces of society, even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes».[2]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report on the Activity of the CC of the PLA, November 1, 1966. The 5th Congress of the PLA, Tirana, 1967, p. 135.

[2] Ibid., p. 134.

Comrade Enver Hoxha called attention, among other things, to the existence of a narrow understanding of the class struggle and the class enemy which is sometimes encountered in practice. After the construction of the economic bases of socialism in the town and in the countryside, this struggle within the country is frequently given diminished importance in the propaganda. It had been said that the main emphasis of this struggle had already shifted to the international arena. Practice had proved that even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such, the class struggle within the country is developed sharply, with ups and downs, and is intertwined with the class struggle on the external front. Besides this, the class struggle is not only directed against the internal and external class enemy; it develops among the people, too, and within the Party itself, against bourgeois ideology, against alien manifestations, against patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts, habits and customs in the minds and conduct of the working people. A fierce struggle between socialist and bourgeois ideologies is carried on in the consciousness of every worker. The socialist order is endangered not only by the remnants of the exploiting classes and the armed imperialist aggression, but also by the internal bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of this order through peaceful evolution.

While emphasizing that the struggle against the class enemy would remain a task of primary importance for the Party, the state and all the working people in the future, too, the congress instructed that the class struggle should be viewed from a broader angle:

> «This is a many-sided struggle. Now it is primarily an ideological struggle, a struggle for the minds and hearts of men, a struggle against bourgeois and revisionist degeneration, against alien survivals and

> manifestations. . . , it is a struggle for the triumph of our communist ideology and morality».[1]

Thus, in order to carry the socialist revolution through to the end in all fields, the Party took as the key link the ideological revolution, the class struggle to thoroughly smash bourgeois and revisionist ideology, to achieve the final triumph of the proletarian ideology.

The ideological revolution as the main link in the chain of the socialist revolution, as the main front of the class struggle under the new conditions created in the country, was determined by subjective and objective factors.

The national and international experience of the socialist construction had fully confirmed that

> «so long as the complete victory of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture has not been ensured, the victories of the socialist revolution in the economic and political fields cannot be secure and guaranteed either».[2]

After the establishment of socialist relations in production, it became indispensable to fight for the liquidation of the imprint of the old society in the ideological and cultural fields, too. Consequently, a series of customs, concepts and habits inherited from the past had to be done away with. The solution of the great and difficult tasks of the complete construction of socialist society, the fierce class struggle on both a national and an international scale, absolutely demanded men endowed with a high socialist consciousness, freed from patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts and customs, as well as religious prejudices, men imbued with proletarian ideology, great revolutionary tempering and determination.

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[1] Ibid., p. 136.

[2] Ibid., p. 134.

The ideological revolution would serve as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party and the working class for the revolutionization of the entire superstructure of society. It would free the dictatorship of the proletariat, all the political, economic and social institutions, from a considerable number of juridical standards, forms and methods appropriate to the first stage of the socialist construction of the country, but already outdated and transformed into obstacles to the rapid advance. It would rid the superstructure of everything alien that had penetrated into it, and would illuminate the road to finding and applying new and more revolutionary norms, forms and methods so that the leadership of the working class and the direct participation of the working masses in the administration of the country and management of the economy would be realized better.

The deepening of the ideological revolution would raise to a higher level the transforming role of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas in the development of society as a whole. The proletarian ideology assimilated by the broad masses of the workers would exert a more powerful influence on perfecting the relations of production, on strengthening the basis of the society and the development of the productive forces and the technical-scientific revolution.

The development and victory of the revolution in the ideological field would avoid the coming to power of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism, as in the Soviet Union and in a number of other socialist countries. Thus, the complete construction of socialist society and the transition to communism would be guaranteed. The tragedy of the Soviet Union served as a great lesson to the Party of Labor of Albania that it must understand more clearly the absolute necessity of the ideological revolution and carry it out more thoroughly.

The ideological revolution would include all the working people, the pupils and students, the whole life of the country.

The revolutionary class education of the cadres and all the intelligentsia was of extreme importance. The overwhelming majority of cadres, officials, the technical and artistic intelligentsia have emerged from the ranks of the workers, are loyal to the Party, to the cause of the working class and socialism, are closely linked with the people and have demonstrated a high socialist consciousness.

> «But these features,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «should not lead us to underestimate the danger of their contamination with bourgeois ideology and, particularly, with revisionist viewpoints. This is no imaginary danger, it has a real basis. It is linked with the very nature and conditions of the work and life of the people engaged in mental work. . . .»[1]

The cadres and all the people engaged in mental work should gain their revolutionary class education in the course of the class struggle, the day-to-day revolutionary activity, by merging with the workers and peasants.

> «Our people's intelligentsia should be closely linked with the people, working and living together with the workers and peasants, merging and becoming one with them. They should rid themselves of the deeply rooted bourgeois idea inherited from the past that the intellectual knows everything, that he, and he alone, is able to direct, to lead, to teach and give advice to others, which, in fact, is a negation of the role of the masses. It should be brought home to all that the decisive role in all the fields of life

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[1] Ibid., pp. 141-142.

> belongs not to special individuals, be they ever so clever, but to the broad masses of the people».[1]

The Party regarded this kind of continuous revolutionary tempering of the cadres and all the intellectuals as an indispensable condition to guard them from the dangerous malady of bureaucracy, individualism, careerism, arrogance, easy living, intellectualism, and technocratism, to keep alive and strengthen in them proletarian simplicity, loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and socialism. The integration of the cadres and of all those engaged in mental work with the workers and peasants, their continuous revolutionary tempering, the Party taught, prevents the creation of privileged strata which gradually place themselves above the working class and its party. The bourgeois strata which seized the power from the hands of the working class in the Soviet Union were composed precisely of bureaucratized cadres, divorced from the masses, from the working class and its guidance. Their endowment with education and culture was not accompanied by a continuous revolutionary tempering. On the contrary, their educational and cultural uplift, associated with many privileges as cadres, such as high salaries, vesting them with great authority, without subjecting this authority to the real control of the working masses, spoiled them and stripped them of their proletarian features.

One of the very important means for the revolutionary tempering of the cadres, officials, technicians, engineers, the men of science and culture, pupils and students, the 5th Congress pointed out, is their direct participation in work in production. This was considered the main way to eliminate any underestimation or contempt for physical labor, the best means to link those doing mental work closely with workers and peasants, to give them a profound knowledge of the life of the country and avoid the influence of bourgeois ideology. The direct participation of the men of mental occupations in production served also as an important means to reduce the distinctions between physical and mental work.

In addition to the work in fixed proportions directly in production, the Party needed to use other forms and means, too, for the revolutionary class education of the cadres and men engaged in mental work to achieve their integration with the working class and the other working people.

Considering the ideological revolution as the most important front of struggle, the congress defined as the main aim of all the ideological work the revolutionary moulding and tempering, the communist education of the people, under the slogan: **«Think, work and live like revolutionaries».**

For the proper fulfilment of this task the congress demanded the elimination of the backwardness in the field of propaganda and agitation and a radical improvement of the method and style of the educative work. This work should fully respond to the revolutionary drive of the Party and the working masses. Instructions were issued to continue more persistently the struggle to root out dogmatism and schematization in the field of propaganda and social sciences, to discard the heavy and dreary style, excessive wordiness and complicated formulae. The task of developing creative ideas with courage and determination in this field, too, was put forward.

The mighty revolutionary job of the socialist construction in the country, the fierce principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and the gigantic efforts to overcome the many difficulties were a great Marxist-Leninist school for the Party and the people. At that time, more than ever before, the Party had made scientific generalizations of its revolutionary experience and the experience of the masses. These generalizations were reflected in the speeches and reports by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the Open Letter of the CC of the PLA and in other documents and materials of the Party.

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[1] Ibid., p. 142.

As a result of these generalizations many theoretical questions of great importance of principle and practice had been further developed.

But the very rich factual material which the recent years had produced had not been fully utilized. This material, of course, was to be further enriched in the future. The congress laid down the task of elaborating this material and raising it to a scientific level, making theoretical generalizations especially from Albanian practice.

At the same time, it criticized the other serious shortcomings: empiricism and practicism, divorcing practice from theory, which were noticed particularly in the daily activity of the Party organizations and in the economic and state organs. The congress put forward strongly the need for the leading cadres, specialists, communists and all the working people to learn both from life and from school, from theory and practice, from work and books, to study and master Marxism-Leninism as thoroughly as possible.

In order that Marxism-Leninism may be mastered by all the communists and workers, in order to draw the broad masses of the people into the ideological revolution, the congress demanded

> «the waging of a sharp struggle against the bourgeois and reactionary intellectualist concept that theory, philosophy, science and art are difficult and cannot be grasped by the masses, that they can be understood only by the cadres and intelligentsia

> Marxism-Leninism is not the privilege and monopoly of a few persons who have the heads to understand it. It is the scientific ideology of the working class and of the masses of workers, and only when its ideas are grasped by the broad masses of workers does it cease to be something abstract and is changed into a great material force for the revolutionary transformation of the world».[1]

The ideological revolution is served directly by the cultural revolution, which is developed in unity and linked organically with it.

> «All the cultural, educational and artistic work should serve, first and foremost, to attain our fundamental purpose — to educate the communists and all the workers in a lofty Marxist-Leninist class spirit. It is precisely for this purpose that today our Party raises the problem of further extending and deepening the cultural revolution».[2]

The congress laid down the task that art and culture should rely strongly on native soil, spring from the people and be completely in the service of the people. The Party of Labor of Albania, as always, loyally upholds the Leninist principle of proletarian partizanship in art, literature and all the spiritual life of society. The decadent bourgeois art and culture, cosmopolitism, are alien to socialism. From the Albanian cultural and artistic heritage, the people of culture and art should take, as they have done in the past, only what is progressive, patriotic and democratic. In the course of centuries the Albanian people have created a rich treasury of spiritual life with a sound progressive content, which constitutes a sound basis and a great source for art and literature, for the new socialist culture in general. The congress pointed out that the art and culture in socialist Albania have profited and will continue to profit from the experience of world progressive art and culture, too, but they will never become slaves to them, will never take anything without a deep analysis, without a critical evaluation from the class viewpoint. The works of world art and culture, be they ever so perfect, cannot serve in their entirety as a suitable model for all time.

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[1] Ibid., p. 158.

[2] Ibid., p. 145.

As regards the school, its further revolutionization should include the educational system itself, the content and methods of teaching and education. The question of the revolutionary ideological and political tempering of the youth, of their more direct training for life and work, of linking teaching with production, of the communist education of the youth through work, remained a primary problem for the revolutionization of the school. To fulfil the task of the revolutionization of the school, the congress demanded, first of all, the revolutionization of the teachers. The Party demanded that the teacher be not only a master of his profession but, first and foremost, a political person, a loyal and tireless fighter for the line of the Party, for communism, an example for his communist stand and conduct in work and life.

While defining the ideological field as the principal front of the class struggle, the 5th Congress made it perfectly clear that, even in socialism, this struggle, in the final analysis, is a struggle for political power. The working class supported by its allies seeks to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main weapon for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. On their part, the remnants of the overthrown classes and the new bourgeois elements within the socialist country, who have the support of the international bourgeoisie, strive to liquidate the dictatorship of the

proletariat and restore the capitalist political power and social-economic order.

The bitter experience of the Soviet Union and certain other countries of Eastern Europe had proved that the class enemies, both internal and external, strive to attain this objective by preparing the ground for the political and social counter-revolution through the counter-revolution in the ideological and cultural fields.

For this reason the congress demanded that the revolution in the ideological and cultural fields should develop in close relation with the revolution in the political and social-economic fields and play a direct part in deepening the revolution in these fields.

The main task for the deepening of the revolution in the political field remained the strengthening and perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fulfilment of this task required the continuation of the great struggle against bureaucracy as one of the most important directions of the class struggle. Everyone should have a profound understanding of this as

> «a struggle to bring state power and its apparatus closer to the broad masses of workers and peasants, to the grass roots, for the further development of their all-round creative initiative».[1]

This required, first of all, a fight against the bureaucratic way of thinking, the continuous perfecting of the work of the state apparatus, preventing a return to the old forms of organization and management and, especially, an inflation of the apparatus, the strengthening of the proletarian democracy and the ensuring of a more active and direct participation of the masses in running the country. In this way any danger of the revisionist-bourgeois degeneration of the people's power would be avoided.

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[1] Ibid., p. 126.

The other main aspect of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat remained, as always, the strengthening and improving of the People's Army, the organs of State Security and the other armed forces, which were closely linked with the masses of the people, politically and ideologically tempered, able and always ready to defend the achievements of the revolution and the socialist Fatherland. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the necessity for intensifying the work for the physical tempering and raising the military preparedness of the whole people.

In the economic-social field, the 5th Congress urged that the revolution should be deepened by resolutely pursuing the decided course of transforming the country from an agrarian-industrial into an industrial-agrarian one and, later, into an industrial country with an advanced agriculture, and of continuously improving the socialist relations of production.

The Party followed the line of simultaneous development of industry and agriculture because, to be strong and independent, the people's economy must stand on both its feet, on industry and agriculture.

Industrialization remained, as before, one of the tasks of vital importance «without the solution of which the socialist revolution on the economic front cannot be carried ahead».[1]

In agriculture, parallel with intensification as the main road to its development, the other great task was the opening up of new land.

The 5th Congress issued the slogan: **«Take to the hills and mountains, make them beautiful and as fertile as the plains».**[2] The carrying out of this task would not only ensure an important source of increased food grain and other agricultural products, but it would be a very effective means to develop the mountain zones on the basis of socialist agriculture, and bring culture, progress and prosperity to the mountains.

Special importance would be attached to the question of the continuous narrowing of the distinctions between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture. The Party had condemned as a distortion and had restrained the artificial expansion of the towns and the diminution of the population of the villages through the spontaneous migration of people from the countryside to the town. The distinction between town and countryside should be reduced in a revolutionary way by preparing the objective and subjective conditions, by effecting the all-round uplift of the countryside through the most rapid development of the productive forces, the extension and, especially, the strengthening of socialist relations, education and culture, the improvement of living conditions and the formation of the communist world outlook. In this direction an important role was to be played by the continuous consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the fraternal all-round aid of the town for the countryside and of the cooperatives of the plains for those of the highlands.

On the basis of the development of the people's economy, the 5th Congress stressed, the Party will strive, as always, to raise the well-being of the working masses, viewing this problem as inseparable from its policy and revolutionary activity.

> *«It has fought and will fight for the continuous improvement of the people's well-being within the limits of our possibilities and conditions, always proceeding from a correct revolutionary, Marxist-*

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[1] Ibid., p. 52.

[2] Ibid., p. 69.

> *Leninist understanding of well-being under socialism. . . .*»[1]

Unlike the modern revisionists, the PLA understood the raising of well-being not as the satisfaction of petty-bourgeois whims, or ensuring a life of luxury for a special stratum or group, but as the fulfilment of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of the whole people, and not only for today but also for tomorrow.

These needs would be fulfilled in conformity with the general level of the economic development of the country and the requirements of extended reproduction and defense. In order to ensure an uninterrupted growth of the productive forces and a systematic improvement of the living standards of the people, the instruction was given that in the future, too,

> «the fund of accumulation should always grow at a more rapid rate than that of consumption, the interests of society should be placed above personal interests, the interests of the moment should be subordinated to those of the future».[2]

The implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of the centralized and planned direction of the economy is of decisive importance for carrying ahead the socialist revolution in the economic-social life. The 5th Congress exposed and condemned the views of the modern revisionists and their efforts to replace the centralized direction of the economy with anarchic decentralization. By practising the decentralization of the direction of the economy they paved the way for the operation of the economic laws of capitalism and for the transformation of the socialist economy into a capitalist economy. The 5th Congress expressed the determination of the PLA to carry out consistently the centralized direction of the economy on the basis of a unified, general state plan. At the same time, it drew attention to the need for this centralized state direction to be deeply democratic, to be coordinated with the organized, wide-scale and direct participation of the masses, as well as with the extension of the rights and functions of the state and economic organs at all levels. The Party would continue to fight hard against any manifestation and trend leading to the substitution of bureaucratic centralism for democratic centralism in the management of the economy.

The 5th Congress instructed that the efforts to have every enterprise achieve the greatest possible results at the lowest possible cost, to cover its expenses with its own incomes and to ensure the continuous growth of internal socialist accumulation should be continued. For this purpose, it was necessary to make correct use of and strengthen such economic levers as costs, profits and prices, which govern the activity of self-supporting enterprises. But, contrary to the revisionists who have made profit the sole and absolute aim of the economic enterprises, the state organs and enterprises of the PRA would always put the policy of the Party, the interests of the construction of socialist society and the defense of the Fatherland in the forefront of all their economic activity.

Further Strengthen the Party and Its Leading Role

The 5th Congress considered the strengthening and tempering of the Party as the revolutionary party of the working class, the raising of its leading role in the whole life of the country, as the first condition for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and for carrying it through to the end.

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[1] Ibid., p. 80.

[2] Ibid., p. 77.

Great lessons should be drawn from the bitter experience of the Soviet Union where bureaucracy, routine, formalism and sluggishness had gradually smothered the Party, depriving it of its revolutionary spirit, rendering it incapable of preventing the revisionists from seizing state power and pushing the country on to the road of the restoration of capitalism. The new bourgeois stratum that was created in the Soviet Union from amongst the bureaucratized cadres liquidated the leadership of the working class and established its own domination over the working class and its party. Drawing a lesson from this experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that

> «. . . Never for one moment, nor in any direction, should we permit the Party to be disarmed, to become intoxicated with success, to become sluggish, to be smothered in dust, routine and bureaucracy».[1]

For this reason, the congress attached very great importance to the continuous improvement of the composition of the Party. This was to be achieved mainly through new admissions to Party membership, abiding, as in the past, by the directive that the majority of the new members should come from production, from the ranks of workers and the working peasantry. Special care should be shown for increasing the number of women and youth admitted to Party membership, combatting sectarian and conservative concepts and stands in this regard.

To ensure new members of the best possible quality, it was decided that the period of candidate membership should be extended from 1 to 2 or 3 years and that better work should be done in preparing the candidates for the eminent title of members of the Party. For this reason

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[1] Ibid., p. 94.

> «during the probationary period the candidates, especially those who by origin or actual situation are officials and who come from families of intellectuals or are themselves such, should work wherever the basic organization or the Party committee assigns them, generally on a difficult front of their profession or simply in physical labor, whether close to or far from the place where they live. The probationary period should contribute to the intensive and all-sided ideological education of the candidates; therefore, they should be placed entirely under the direction of the basic organization and of the collective where they work, and it should be known to everybody that the candidates are being prepared for joining the Party».[1]

Along with the work for the continuous infusion of new blood into the Party through admissions based on sound Marxist-Leninist criteria, the 5th Congress pointed out that the unceasing revolutionary ideological tempering of the candidates is of decisive importance for preserving the purity of the Party ranks.

The class struggle is reflected even within the ranks of the Party. The communists, too, are bearers of alien leftovers. They, too, like all the working people, are under the pressure of the class enemy, particularly of its ideology. This has been the main reason why various elements from the Party ranks have degenerated and gone over to anti-Party positions. The degeneration of the Party members has always been an important aim of the class enemies toward achieving the disintegration of the whole Party.

In order to protect themselves from bourgeois degeneration, the 5th Congress instructed that the Party members should have a deep and correct understanding of the class struggle, of its objective character, and develop this understanding day by day in every field of life. It is necessary that the communist should wage this struggle, first of all, within himself, that he should never think himself immune from every evil or that there is nothing to be combatted within himself. It remained the continuous duty of the communists to disclose the contradictions within the Party and solve them through criticism and self-criticism, not to be lenient toward nor gloss over alien concepts or manifestations, but to point out clearly their class character and social danger, to wage a principled struggle against them.

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[1] The Constitution of the PLA with amendments approved by the 5th Congress of the PLA.

> «This struggle should not be covered up under the pretext of preserving unity, but it should be developed and carried through to the end, thus strengthening the genuine unity of the Party, its revolutionary spirit, its militancy, and the proletarian dictatorship».[1]

The Party of Labor of Albania has always regarded the unity and revolutionary tempering of the communists as things which are not achieved once and for all. Unity and the revolutionary tempering are created through struggle, preserved through struggle, and are strengthened through continuing class struggle both outside and inside the Party ranks.

To revolutionize the Party and the whole life of the country unceasingly, Comrade Enver Hoxha deemed it indispensable that every communist should preserve and strengthen the distinctive qualities of the member of the PLA, which are:

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report to the 5th Congress of the PLA. The 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 137.

«The members of our revolutionary Party should be loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to our Party and people. This means that they should always be revolutionaries, unyielding fighters for the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, resolute unto death to serve the Party and the people at any moment, in any circumstances, ready for any sacrifice that may be required in the interests of the revolution and socialism.

The communists should be equipped with a steel-like and conscious discipline, with an iron will to implement the Party line, the state laws, to respect the good customs of the people. But this does not mean that they are mere mechanical appliers of directives. In his work the communist should be creative, he should go deeply into the concrete ideological and political essence of the Party decision and the state law and, in accordance with the conditions in which he is acting, he should organize his work so that they will be carried out with success.

The members of our Marxist-Leninist party should be conscious that being in the Party does not bring and cannot bring even the slightest personal privilege to the communist. It brings only great, difficult, and responsible duties. He who thinks otherwise, who tries to create privileges for himself, his family, or anybody else, whether material or moral, with his Party card, does not for one moment deserve the great honor of being a Party member.

The communist should be closely linked with the masses, listen to what they say with attention and respect, live and work with the masses, know their hearts and know their needs, stand at the head of the masses and lead them. He should be an implacable enemy against conceit, arrogance, commandism, favoritism, against any contempt for or underestimation of the masses and their work, he should fight courageously against anyone who manifests such trends, which are harmful to the interests of the working people, to the Party and to our socialist state.

A good and consistent member of our Party is he who always has in mind and fearlessly wages the class struggle, both outside and within the ranks of the Party, firmly relying on the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party.

He should know, following a correct dialectical analysis, how to distinguish the good from the bad, the dangerous from the less dangerous; he should know how to employ the most suitable methods of education and of persuasion, and, as a last resort, those of coercion. A good and revolutionary Party member is he who by his work and behavior wins the confidence and the affection of the people, he who educates and rescues those who make errors, and who strikes down without mercy and with the greatest hatred those who are incorrigible and socially dangerous, the enemies of the people and Party.

Every communist should be endowed with true revolutionary vigilance for the defense of the Party line and the purity of its ideals. The Party member should be characterized by a clear correctness, he should be unstained in his conscience and activity, he should be principled and never hide his shortcomings and errors, but should criticize them himself without waiting for others to point them out. Only thus is he in a better position to criticize the shortcomings of his comrades, to keep his vigilance active and to correct others by his example, by his purity, by his just struggle.

The revolutionary communist should work with a lofty consciousness wherever the Party has assigned and needs him, always putting the general interest above all. He should never reconcile himself to any unhealthy situation created by incorrect conclusions and decisions taken by any Party or state forum, nor to the errors or arbitrariness of any functionary».[1]

It is the basic organization, the 5th Congress re-emphasized, that has the main role in making the communists work and live like tireless revolutionaries. It will play this role properly only when it is seething with creative Marxist-Leninist thought, when the collective work is being constantly strengthened, when every communist without exception is activized in concrete Party tasks and when the carrying out to the letter of the collective decisions is demanded and checked upon.

For further deepening the mass line the 5th Congress instructed that the Party should make a better use of its powerful levers — the mass organizations — by enlivening them to a higher degree.

The 5th Congress demanded the elimination of any undervaluation of the Democratic Front organization and that better use be made of it as a main link for tightening the moral-political unity of the people around the Party, and as a great tribune for the political education of the masses.

On the trade unions there was laid the duty of improving all their activity, particularly as regards the communist education and mobilization of the workers to take part in the management of production and in running the country.

In regard to the youth, the 5th Congress instructed that attention should be centred on making them into consistent fighters against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology and on tempering them with the revolutionary class spirit by acquainting them with the past, by educating them with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and, particularly, by throwing them into mighty deeds and actions.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 100-102.

The 5th Congress dwelt especially on the problem of the complete emancipation of women. Considering this «one of the most important problems of the socialist construction, a great political, ideological and social question», it laid down the task of waging a fierce struggle against concepts toward the enslavement of women, and of persisting in the efforts to raise their personality, so that women may occupy their rightful place in all fields of socialist society.

All the questions related to the further strengthening of the Party and its leading role were crystallized in the Constitution of the Party, to which the Congress made the necessary amendments.

The Directives of the 4th Five-year Plan

The 5th Congress worked out the directives of the 4th five-year plan in the spirit of the deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields.

The main tasks of the 4th five-year plan were defined as: **To speed up the complete construction of the material-technical basis of socialism by continuing the socialist industrialization and increasing the industrial production through a more complete utilization of the productive capacities already in use and through building new projects, by concentrating the forces for a more rapid development of agricultural production, especially of the production of grain, first of all, through the intensification of agriculture.**

To raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the people and to increase the defense capacity of the Fatherland.

To further perfect the socialist relations of production in a revolutionary way, to gradually reduce the distinction between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture and between mental and physical work.

The yearly average rate of increase of industrial and agricultural production taken together was set at about 10 per cent as against 6.7 per cent that it had been in the 3rd five-year plan.

It was estimated that industrial production should increase 50-54 per cent above that of 1965, at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent. The production of the means of production would be increased 65-69 per cent, and that of consumer goods 33-38 per cent. The chemical and engineering industries, the electric power, copper, ferronickel, oil, glass and ceramics industries would be developed at higher rates. Rolled metal, nitrate and phosphate fertilizers, several kinds of paper, electric light bulbs and many other articles would be produced in the country for the first time. With the 4th five-year plan the country entered a new stage of industrialization, the stage of the development of the heavy processing industry. The setting up of this industry brought about an improvement of the structure of industrial production, strengthened industry and the people's economy as a whole, made it more independent and greatly helped the development of agriculture.

The development of agriculture was described by the 5th Congress as the most important link for carrying out the main economic tasks of the 4th five-year plan. Industry was to be put in the service of agriculture more than ever before. Agricultural production was to be increased at an average annual rate of 11.5 per cent and it was estimated to be 71-76 per cent greater in 1970 than in 1965. By ensuring a higher rate of growth of agricultural production in comparison with that of industrial production the Party aimed at easing the disproportion between industry and agriculture, at narrowing the distinction between town and countryside. The increase, first of all, of the production of the food grain, potatoes, rice and edible fats was the main task of agriculture in the new five-year plan. The principal slogan of the Party in regard to agriculture would be: **«To ensure the bread within the country.»** The congress instructed that the solution of this problem be looked upon as a question of great political importance for socialism. This problem was to be solved, first of all, by ensuring a pronounced rise in the rates of yield of the agricultural crops. Another factor for the solution of this problem was to reclaim 115,000 hectares of new land, or twice as much as during the 3rd five-year period. Along with this task, the Party and state — the congress instructed — should assist to unite in cooperatives all the agricultural economies which had remained uncollectivized and which represented 10 per cent of the land of the peasantry.

In order to fulfil the tasks of the 4th five-year plan, it was decided to increase capital investments 34 per cent above those of the 3rd five-year plan. Eighty per cent of these investments were to be used in the productive sectors.

The national income would be increased 45-50 per cent, 28.2 per cent of which would be used for accumulation and 71.8 per cent for social and individual consumption. The per capita real income of workers and employees was to be increased 9-11 per cent and that of the peasantry 20-25 per cent. This made it obligatory to increase the circulation of goods 25-27 per cent.

With regard to the people's education, besides the main task — its further revolutionization — the congress planned a 27 per cent rise of the number of pupils and students in all categories of schools and an increase of 67-68 per cent in the cadres with higher and medium training.

The fulfilment of the 4th five-year plan, like that of the previous plans, relied, first of all, on the internal resources, means, forces and reserves. However, the absolute volume of the internal accumulation was inadequate to cover in full all the capital investments and construction envisaged by the plan. This deficit was to be covered by the generous internationalist aid of the People's Republic of China. This aid was given mainly for the purpose of developing the productive forces, for further developing industry, especially heavy industry, and for the further mechanization of agriculture.

The tasks of the 4th five-year plan were majestic but difficult. In order to fulfil them with honor, the Party called on the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to work and struggle with all their strength, abilities and knowledge, to make sacrifices to overcome every obstacle and difficulty. The revolutionary enthusiasm and mobilization of the broad working masses to fulfil the targets of the first year of the new five-year plan, which, more than any previous plan, was the fruit of the creative genius of the masses themselves, strengthened the conviction of the Party that this would become reality.

Raise the Struggle Against Imperialism and Modern Revisionism to a Higher Level

The 5th Congress made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation. The main conclusion it drew was that the uncompromising struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism and against modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism was a task of decisive importance for the fate of liberty and independence, for the fate of socialism, on a national and international scale.

The crystallization of a new alliance between U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism was one of the most fundamental features of the international situation.

This alliance was based on the common interests and the common immediate strategic aim of the division of the zones of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two great powers over the world. In order to achieve this aim, both the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet leaders had taken upon themselves the tasks: of fighting Marxism-Leninism, the scientific theory of socialist revolution and socialist construction, substituting for it modern bourgeois and opportunist theories; of destroying the Marxist-Leninist parties mainly through their degeneration and transformation into counter-revolutionary reformist parties of the social democratic type; of liquidating the socialist order and the dictatorship of the proletariat through degeneration and, where this was impossible, through armed intervention; in this way destroying the world socialist system and the world communist movement. The socialist countries which stood in revolutionary positions and all the revolutionary forces fighting for freedom, independence and socialism were the main and common enemy of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism. Their greatest enemy, the insurmountable obstacle to the achievement of the hegemonistic aims of the U.S. capitalists and the modern revisionists was the People's Republic of China. That is why they had directed their main blows at her.

The Soviet revisionist leaders tried in every way to hide the new Soviet-U.S. alliance by making use of a

demagogic «anti-imperialist» phraseology. But this was not possible, for all their foreign policy and practical activity in the international arena was permeated with the friendship and collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. The Soviet-U.S. alliance was taking a more concrete form with every passing day and was developing in all fields, with various open and secret treaties and agreements.

But the alliance between the USA and the USSR did not develop without difficulty and contradictions.

> «At the same time,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «each of these two powers strives to win supremacy for itself, to rally its friends around itself, to fight the groupings of the other side with a view to weaning its allies away from it and extending its sphere of influence at the expense of its partner».[1]

U.S. imperialism had agreed to coexist in peace and collaboration with the Soviet Union only in order to restrain the world revolution, to hinder the spreading of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to oppose the PR of China, to suppress the liberation struggles of the peoples, particularly, the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The USA had never given up its final objective of establishing its undivided domination over the world.

The aim of world domination and the operation of the law of the uneven development of the capitalist countries had given rise to deep contradictions between U.S. imperialism and, besides the peoples of the whole world, even its allies — the other imperialist powers, especially France, as well as West Germany, Great Britain, Japan and others. These contradictions had caused deep divisions within the world imperialist camp and had weakened the power of U.S. imperialism.

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[1] Ibid., p. 23.

Contradictions of the same character as those which were eroding the world imperialist front, were also eroding the world revisionist front.

> «Now the revisionist front has been undermined to its very foundations, it resembles a pack of hungry wolves ready to tear one another to pieces. The conductor's baton no longer has all the revisionist orchestra under its control. Centrifugal and polycentrist trends are increasing, great state chauvinism has given birth, as an inevitable reaction, to narrow local nationalism, the different variants of revisionism are fighting among themselves for zones of influence, demanding more freedom, more independence from the ruble with the aim of becoming dependent on the dollar. Each strives to defend its own economic, political and military interests, and to oppose them to the interests of the other revisionists».[1]

The existence and unceasing sharpening of the contradictions on both the imperialist and revisionist fronts, between the U.S. imperialists and the revisionists of the Soviet Union (in addition to the deep antagonistic contradictions within the imperialist countries themselves and the countries ruled by revisionists) were the signs of their ever increasing weakness. But, the 5th Congress pointed out, this fact requires to be understood correctly. The contradictions among the enemies should not be overestimated. They can quarrel and tear one another to pieces, but be united to attack the revolution and socialism. In particular, the Soviet-U.S. alliance constituted the greatest danger to humanity. It was necessary to make use of the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy

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[1] Ibid., p. 179.

in order to cope with this danger, to intensify the revolutionary struggle and to strengthen the confidence of the people in their final victory over imperialism and revisionism.

The 5th Congress re-emphasized the conviction of the PLA that with

> «the determined joint struggle of the peoples of the entire world, of the revolutionary forces of our times — socialism, the national-liberation movement and the international communist and workers' movement — it is possible to defeat the aggressive and enslaving schemes of U.S.-led imperialism, to avert a new world war, to carry ahead the revolution and to achieve the liberation of the people and the victory of socialism and communism».[1]

The 5th Congress made it perfectly clear that this was not an easy struggle and that there would be no quick victory. It was indispensable to prepare the peoples for a fierce, protracted and difficult struggle which would require blood, sacrifice, unshakable determination and heroism. This struggle develops with ups and downs, assaults and retreats, successes and temporary defeats, until final victory is achieved. The revolution marches ahead non-stop, over difficulties and obstacles. In all corners of the world imperialism was being dealt repeated blows. The revolutionary tempest had swept over Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular. Through its heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism, the heroic Vietnamese people had become a great inspiring example for all the freedom-loving anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in the world.

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[1] Ibid., p. 19.

Imperialism, revisionism and all the reactionary forces in the world, be they ever so weak, do not take their own lives. The nearer they approach the grave, the more savage and aggressive they become.

In order to destroy all the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism, of Khrushchevite revisionism and all world reaction, in order to wage the struggle against them more successfully and achieve final victory, the 5th Congress laid down as an essential task of great international importance to

> «unite all the peoples in a broad anti-imperialist world front directed, first of all, against the main enemy of freedom, U.S. imperialism. . . . Forming the nucleus of this front are the socialist countries which stand in revolutionary positions, and the world proletariat, while its base is the alliance of this nucleus with the oppressed peoples and nations that together make up the overwhelming majority of the population of the world. The revolutionary united front of the peoples of the whole world should be counterposed to the joint imperialist-revisionist front. . . .»[1]

In order that this front might have a truly anti-imperialist character, it was entirely reasonable to unite in it all those who, in one way or another, maintained an anti-imperialist attitude in deeds, and not just in words, who fought in whatever measure against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism. The 5th Congress emphasized:

> «With their entire policy and practice the Khrushchevite revisionists have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front. To include the revisionists in this front means to introduce the fifth column,

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

> the «Trojan Horse», and to undermine it from within».[1]

At its 5th Congress the PLA declared firmly once again that it would not accept any kind of unity of action with the Khrushchevite revisionists. If it were to act differently, it would simply be betraying its own people, socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Modern revisionism, with the Soviet leadership at its centre, now comprised not only a main danger but also a **main enemy** of the international workers' and communist movement.

The 5th Congress again pointed out that the slogan of «unity of action», which the revisionists made use of allegedly on behalf of «the struggle against imperialism», was simply a fraudulent demagogical manoeuvre.

It severely criticized, on a principled basis, all those who did not fight revisionism itself but only its shadow, who closed their eyes to the reality, as if they did not want to see the betrayal of the revisionist leadership, who sought reconciliation and unity with the revisionists, who maintained a centrist position.

In the struggle against revisionism, the PLA pointed out:

> «there can be no middle road. The «golden mean» is the line of the reconciliation of opposites, which can never be reconciled. Nor can the middle road serve to disguise the deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles, because, if the fight against revisionism is not inspired by ideological motives, but only by certain economic and political motives on a national chauvinist basis, it is a mere bluff which is short-lived. Those who uphold this line in their stand toward the renegades from Marxism-

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[1] Ibid., p. 189.

> Leninism are themselves in danger of slipping, sooner or later, into the positions of the latter. . . .
>
> We are of the opinion that today, what should be put very prominently on the agenda as an acute, real problem is not reconciliation and unity with the revisionists, but separation, a definitive division from them».[1]

> «The Party of Labor of Albania is of the opinion that the fight against revisionism in general and against Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism in particular should be raised to a higher level».[2]

The 5th Congress welcomed the creation of a series of new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in various countries of the world, including some countries ruled by the revisionists. It once again expressed its readiness to give all the aid in its power to the new Marxist-Leninist forces, to all those struggling against imperialism and revisionism.

> «We consider this our lofty internationalist duty, because in the growth and development of these new revolutionary forces we see the only correct road to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the collapse of revisionism».[3]

The creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups was the result of the process of differentiation which had begun and continued to develop without interruption between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. This was a natural process of the struggle between two opposite ideologies which can never live together within a single Marxist-Leninist party, or within the world communist movement in general. Opportunism and revisionism have

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[1] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[2] Ibid., pp. 183-184.

[3] Ibid., p. 183.

always been and remain the main splitters of the parties of the working class and of the world workers' and communist movement.

> «The history of the international communist movement shows that it has proceeded from unity to division and from division to a new unity on a new, higher basis».[1]

The PLA took into account precisely this objective law when it expressed its firm opinion that

> «unity will be re-established in the communist movement and the socialist camp, but it will be re-established by the Marxist-Leninists without revisionists and traitors and in resolute struggle against them».[2]

To destroy the imperialist-revisionist front, to strengthen the revolutionary fighting spirit of international communism, the 5th Congress deemed it indispensable and urgent to establish links of close collaboration, to strengthen the unity of action and ideology among all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces in different countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Having in mind the tremendous role of the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Mao Tsetung in the world revolutionary communist and liberation movement, the PLA was of the opinion that

> «all the Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, equal and independent as they are, should be closely united with the Communist Party and the People's

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[1] Ibid., p. 162.

[2] Ibid., p. 168.

Republic of China and form a steel-like bloc against which all our enemies will break their heads».[1]

At the close of its proceedings, the 5th Congress by unanimous vote elected the Central Committee of the PLA which numbered 61 members and 36 candidate members, as well as the Central Control and Audit Commission. Members elected to the Political Bureau of the CC were: Enver Hoxha, Adil Çarçani, Beqir Balluku, Gogo Nushi, Haki Toska, Hysni Kapo, Manush Myftiu, Mehmet Shehu, Ramiz Alia, Rita Marko, Spiro Koleka; and candidate members: Abdyl Këllezi, Kadri Hazbiu, Koço Theodhosi, Petrit Dume, Pilo Peristeri. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The 5th Congress was a fine expression of the monolithic unity, Marxist-Leninist maturity and invincible strength of the Party, of its determination to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. On the basis of the summing up of the great experience of the revolutionary struggle during the previous five-year period, it enriched and further developed the Marxist-Leninist political line of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society.

The 5th Congress expressed the determination of the PLA to stand, as always, in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, to carry on this struggle until the complete victory of revolution and socialism on a world scale.

The 5th Congress was a splendid manifestation of the internationalist solidarity of the PLA with all the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces in the world. On the other hand, through the representatives of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist groups and parties who took part in the proceedings of the congress, it expressed the respect, love, support and the great authority the PLA had won in the international arena by its resolute struggle for socialism and the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

The participation of representatives of the new Marxist-Leninist revolutionary groups and parties in the 5th Congress of the PLA constituted an important event in the international communist movement.

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[1] Ibid., p. 197.

3. A NEW QUALITATIVE LEAP IN THE IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The deep scientific analysis, made by the 5th Congress, of the great national and international problems of the time, and the instructions which it gave, opened new horizons on the road of the complete construction of the socialist society. The tasks set by the 5th Congress became the basis of the work in all spheres of the life of the country.

The Implementation of the Revolutionary Principles and Norms of the Party and the Political-ideological Struggle Against Bureaucracy — Two Main Links

The whole Party with its levers was mobilized to make the orientations and tasks defined by the 5th Congress as understandable as possible to the people, to carry them out on as broad a scale and as thoroughly as possible. In this direction a special role was played by Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech «On the Further Revolutionization of the Party and People's Power» delivered on February 6, 1967 at a joint meeting of some basic Party organizations of Tirana.

For the further revolutionization of the Party and the people's power Comrade Enver Hoxha took up two main links: the deep knowledge of the philosophical meaning and the revolutionary implementation of the principles and revolutionary norms of the Party, and the relentless and persistent continuation of the struggle against bureaucracy.

The resolute implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms at all times has been one of the main sources of the great victories achieved by the Party of Labor of Albania. But, in the circumstances of the sharpening of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism on an international scale, in the conditions of the new revolutionary drive which had burst forth in Albania, it was necessary that these principles and norms embodied in the line and the Constitution of the Party should be grasped more profoundly ideologically and politically and implemented in a more revolutionary way. The experience of the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union clearly showed that giving up the grasping of the ideological substance and the revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist norms constitutes the greatest evil for a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the greatest danger of its disintegration and transformation into a revisionist party. Therefore, it was necessary for many Party organizations and communists to get rid of a certain feeling of self-satisfaction which had arisen as a consequence of the victories achieved and had prevented them from seeing their mistakes and shortcomings. This feeling of self-satisfaction contained in itself the danger of the formation of the idealist, non-revolutionary and non-dialectical concept that the functionaries of the Party and state organs, the managers of state or cooperative enterprises are infallible and beyond criticism. Hence on many occasions the criticism and self-criticism within the Party organizations, as well as the criticism by the masses of the

managing organs and cadres, were superficial and formal. This meant that many shortcomings and errors were not disclosed, were not attacked severely and not corrected in time, and that a number of bureaucrats remained in their posts and damaged the work.

Comrade Enver Hoxha severely criticized those Party organizations and communists who closed their eyes to shortcomings and did not wage a revolutionary struggle to implement the laws and norms of the Party regarding the mass line, the class struggle, putting the general interests above personal interests, regarding the fight against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, and the complete emancipation of women.

> «. . . Nothing should be allowed outside the laws and norms of the Party and the people, nothing should escape the vigilant eye of the Party and people, no one should be exempt from rendering account of his work to the Party and the people and taking what he deserves from the Party and the people.
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> The very restricted, very superficial and formal criticism in the basic organizations must be ended».[1]

Comrade Enver Hoxha demanded that all communists get a good grasp of the Constitution of the Party and put it into practice to the letter. He charged them with the task of actively participating in the discussion of different problems, of demanding a more strict account of their own doings and the doings of their comrades without distinction, as well as of the people elected to the leading organs of the Party.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, On the Further Revolutionization of the Party and People's Power, February 6, 1967, Tirana, 1967, pp. 40-41.

He drew their attention especially to the very great importance for the revolutionization of the Party and its very existence of bringing new blood into its ranks. He described the sluggishness manifested in connection with admissions to the Party as entirely impermissible and dangerous. He made it clear that the directives of the 5th Congress for raising the requirements toward those who were to join the Party should not be misinterpreted as closing the doors of the Party.

In order to avoid formalism, the superficial implementation of the Party norms and principles, or their violation, Comrade Enver Hoxha deemed it necessary for all the communists to participate vigorously in revolutionary activities and, at the same time, to tirelessly study the Marxist-Leninist theory. The study of the documents and materials of the Party since its formation assumed greater importance than ever for the Marxist-Leninist education of the communists. These documents and materials constituted a great revolutionary school.

The correct implementation of the line, the revolutionary norms and principles of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, would be achieved only through the struggle against bureaucracy and its bearers. This struggle should not be relaxed nor, even less, brought to an end following the great campaign which was carried out with such energy from the end of 1965 through 1966. The fight against bureaucracy does not end so long as classes and the class struggle exist. Besides, it does not consist simply of taking certain technical-administrative measures, as some people are prone to think. Reducing and simplifying the inflated staffs of the state, economic and cultural organs, curtailing red tape, the more correct definition of the competence of state and cooperative organs and institutions of all levels, were indispensable measures which played an important role in the struggle against bureaucracy. But these measures constituted only the technical-administrative side of this great problem. Bureaucracy is a question of world outlook; it is a form of thinking and acting to the detriment of the interests of the people. The concepts which form it are idealist, anti-Marxist and reactionary. Therefore, in order to destroy bureaucracy and rout the bureaucrats, it is indispensable that, first of all, a stern political and ideological struggle should be waged against them. This struggle, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, should be waged directly by the masses themselves. The Party had the duty to ensure that the voice of the masses would be raised as loudly as possible, that their criticism should hit hard and correctly at the shortcomings and errors, bureaucratic concepts and distortions, at the bureaucrats themselves, irrespective of their rank or grade. The Party was not afraid of the voice of the masses, of their criticism.

> «How can a Marxist-Leninist party be afraid of the masses, of their voice, of their criticism? A party which is afraid cannot be called Marxist-Leninist. But it is never the Party which is afraid, but a few individuals, a few Party members, certain state functionaries; it is the bureaucrats who are afraid of the masses, those who hide behind the authority of the Party and state power to suppress the voice of the masses. We should suppress these people, and this suppression should be done in a revolutionary way, by the Party and the masses at the same time».[1]

The decisions of the 5th Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967 gave a new and

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[1] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

powerful impulse to the revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country.

The discussion of problems, the principled criticism and self-criticism in the Party organizations, assumed an unprecedented vigor. The militant spirit in the activity and conduct of the communists increased, their vanguard role in all domains became more evident and more tangible.

A new and powerful revolutionary drive burst forth all over the country. The creative activity of the masses to carry out the tasks of the 4th five-year plan increased. Old and young sprang to their feet in courageous criticism of themselves and others, to fight the shortcomings and errors at work, to consign to the flames alien concepts and manifestations — remnants of the past, to clear the weeds from socialist society. The flash-posters which emerged in this revolutionary drive were a new militant form of mass social criticism and played an important role in this regard. The masses themselves took wonderful initiatives and made proposals to advance production, to eliminate the roots of alien ideology and to promote the revolutionary ideological tempering of the working people, to further strengthen and democratize the people's power, to increase the defense capacity of the country. These initiatives, which found their expression in a great number of concrete mass actions of a deep political, ideological and social-economic content, were transformed into great revolutionary movements, such as the movement to put the general interest above personal interests everywhere, the movement against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, the movement for the complete emancipation of women, etc.

The new revolutionary movements which burst forth impetuously and in unprecedented proportions did not arise by accident. They were prepared by the whole uninterrupted and constantly increasing development of the socialist revolution. They were the result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line the Party had always followed, of the great revolutionary experience the Party and the working masses had accumulated. They constituted a qualitative leap forward in the ideological and cultural revolution. In the vanguard of these revolutionary movements, as always, stood the working class which, with its proletarian ideology, with its spirit of revolutionary determination, set the example for all the other working people.

New heroes of socialist labor and thousands of vanguard fighters, particularly young men and young women, emerged from these movements both in town and countryside. A considerable number of these fighters who had shown themselves resolute revolutionaries in work and in struggle were admitted to the Party.

The Movement to Put the General Interest Above Personal Interests Everywhere

The movement to put the general above personal interests gripped all the working people, the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia. It was expressed in various forms and directions. The working class took a great number of initiatives to reach the main economic targets envisaged for the year 1970 2 or 3 years before schedule, to fulfil and overfulfil the economic tasks without affecting the state reserves and consuming supplementary raw materials or imported articles, etc. Consequently, a better and more stable rate was ensured in the fulfilment of the economic plans which were overfulfilled everywhere in industry, in geological research, in construction, in transport, in the circulation of goods. With their own forces, the workers built new plants, shops and lines, and a series of new articles were produced to replace imported ones. There were fewer cases in which an alien stand was maintained toward work and socialist property. Vanguard workers went to lagging brigades in order to lead them forward. Most of those few workers who tried to make profits by private work outside working hours gave up this practice which was detrimental to socialist consciousness.

The peasantry showed a high revolutionary spirit in carrying out the tasks set by the 5th Congress of the Party. The task of the five-year plan to complete the collectivization of the villages even of the mountain regions was accomplished within three months. Thus, the complete collectivization of agriculture throughout the country was realized in March 1967. The cooperative peasantry took numerous initiatives to reclaim as much virgin land as possible, to strengthen their economy and their collective work, etc.

The greatest revolutionary initiative taken by the cooperative farmers was that of reducing the size of their individual plots of land. This initiative, which was first taken by the «Joseph Stalin» and «Enver Hoxha» agricultural cooperatives in the Lushnja and Fier districts respectively, was soon spread from end to end of the country. The individual plots of land were reduced by 50 to 66 per cent and the family livestock by 50 per cent. In the lowland cooperatives this percentage was still higher. With the reduction of the size of individual plots the natural superiority of the collective economy over the individual plot became more emphatic. This measure, which was taken by the cooperative members of their own free will, was in line with the directives of the 5th Party Congress to gradually reduce the size of individual plots in proportion to the growth of the possibilities of the collective economy to provide for the vital needs of the families of the cooperative members. The better these needs are fulfilled, the 5th Congress had pointed out, the less necessary become the cooperativists' individual plots. But it must be said that the movement to reduce the size of individual plots developed at such a high rate as to surpass the expectations of the congress.

The reduction of the size of individual plots exerted a great influence on the consciousness of the peasants in uprooting the psychology of petty-proprietorship, in attaching them more strongly to collective property and in forming in them a deep socialist concept toward this property.

At the same time, the initiative of the workers of the «Gjergj Dimitrov» state farm in the district of Tirana to give up their personal gardens spread among the state farms of the whole country.

In the wake of the movements to put the general interest above everything there sprang up initiatives to broaden the participation of the cadres and of all the intelligentsia in production. The most important among these were: the initiative of the leading cadres and the employees of the administration of the «Enver» Plant in Tirana to spend one-third of their work-time directly in production; the initiative of the leading cadres and the employees of the administration of the Troshan cooperative in the Lezha district to put in 100 work-days a year directly in production. These initiatives were embraced and applied in all the state enterprises, in the handicrafts and agricultural cooperatives. Moreover, for various categories of administrative workers in production centres and for the leading cadres of small cooperatives, it was decided that they should work directly in production to a greater extent. Meanwhile, the employees of the state and Party apparatus, the armymen, those engaged in education, art and culture, were to work in production 30 days a year (women — 15 days). The direct participation of the managing cadres and of the administrative workers in production resulted in the strengthening of their links with the masses, imparting to them a deeper knowledge of the economic and social problems and of life itself, tempering them further as revolutionaries, reducing to an ever greater extent the bureaucratic manifestations and distortions and improving the method and style in their work of management. This marked a step forward toward the continuous reduction of the distinctions between physical and mental work.

The initiatives taken by the workers and intellectuals to give up honoraria and many supplementary rewards above their basic salaries, to donate to the state their state loan bonds, were brilliant manifestations of socialist patriotism, of putting the general interest above personal interests.

Such national and local mass actions of the youth as building the Rogozhina-Fier railway, building the highway in Malësia e Madhe and others became great schools of revolutionary education and manifestations of putting the general interest above personal interests. By working there with fine revolutionary spirit, the tens of thousands of young men and women volunteers learned to love their work and their comrades, to make more fruitful the struggle to eliminate the old and to spread and implant the new, to serve the Fatherland and socialism better.

The splendid results of the movement for putting the general interest above personal interests were not achieved without difficulty, without fierce clashes between the old and the new, between the progressive new and the reactionary old. The revolutionary initiatives of the masses came up against the concepts of private property, of individual interest, which have deep roots, are formed over centuries and nurtured by bourgeois and revisionist ideology and propaganda. These concepts were still strong

in the minds of many working people. A number of peasants, still with the psychology of the petty-proprietor, hesitated and did not immediately decide to follow the example set by most of their co-villagers in collectivizing their land and livestock, and in reducing their individual plots of land. Among the managers of enterprises and cooperatives, among the employees of the administration there were people who, from self-interest, did not show the proper willingness to spend as many days directly in production as envisaged by the progressive initiatives. There were parents who hindered their daughters from going as volunteers to the actions of the youth, and so on.

All these obstacles and difficulties were overcome by the strength of the collective, by the ideological struggle of the Party and its work of persuasion.

The Party supported the revolutionary initiatives with all its might and saw to it that they were spread all over the country and developed further. It worked hard to ensure that the struggle against putting personal interests above the general interest would be considered as a great problem of ideological and social importance, as a struggle to destroy the source of indifference, of egoism, of the alien attitude to work and socialist property, to block every path to the spread of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. The Party struck timely blows at isolated violations of the principle of persuasion and the voluntary taking up of these revolutionary initiatives, and avoided any distortion of them. It made it clear that the struggle was not to deny or eliminate personal interests, but to combine them correctly with the general interest, subjecting personal interests to the general interest.

A special role in the further development and deepening of the movement for putting general interest above individual interests everywhere was played by the April

29, 1967 Joint Statement of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA.

The statement summarized and legalized the revolutionary initiatives. At the same time, on the basis of these initiatives, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers announced the taking of a series of measures of a social-economic character which would create better conditions for strengthening the ideological conviction of the workers to take the road of deepening the movement for putting the general interest above everything else.

In keeping with the statement, further improvements were effected in the socialist organization of work and wages. The replacement of individual norms of work with collective norms as a more advanced stage of the socialist organization of work began to spread in industry, in construction, in agriculture and in other sectors. Taking into account that, in the process of socialist construction, moral incentives were gaining ever greater superiority over material incentives, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers took measures to purge the pay system in general of rewards of material stimuli. The overwhelming majority of material incentives were removed. A further decrease of the highest salaries was effected. All the savings resulting from these measures were returned to the workers through adjusting their wages and increasing the state expenditure for crèches and kindergartens, etc. Taxes on the workers' incomes were abolished. It was mainly the working people with the lowest annual incomes who profited from these measures.

In carrying out the measures toward perfecting the organization of work and pay, the basic socialist principle of distribution according to the work done was always preserved. These important measures of principle served

to block the way to individualism, egotism and other evils detrimental to socialist society.

The complete collectivization of the economies of the mountain regions, the reduction of the private plots, as well as the special tasks set by the 5th Congress of giving greater assistance to the highlands, faced the Party, the people's power and the masses of the people with a series of problems. In order to solve them, the Party and government decided to take special measures to assist the cooperatives, especially the newly formed ones of the mountain regions, to overcome the difficulties and march ahead on the road set by the 5th Congress. Such measures were: the total abolition of taxes on the incomes from the private plots of the cooperativists, on the incomes of the newly set up cooperatives of the mountain regions, etc.; the raising of the prices for the cooperatives' obligatory meat quotas to the level of the prices for above-quota meat supplies; greater state aid to the new agricultural cooperatives in the form of interest-free credits; the increase of state investments for irrigation and land improvement schemes in the upland regions, etc. On instructions from the Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, the land and livestock accumulated from the reduction of the private plots were used entirely or partly to meet the needs of the cooperativists' families for farm produce. Among other measures taken by the Party for the direct assistance of the cooperatives of the mountainous regions, was the sending of a considerable number of communists, members of the Youth Union and various cadres and specialists to work there for several years, if not permanently. All these measures helped to strengthen the collective agricultural economy and ensured a more rapid increase of the material well-being, the cultural level and the social situation of the countryside, especially in the highlands.

After the complete collectivization of the mountainous regions the organizational and ideological work in these zones was raised to a much higher level than before.

The movement to put general interest above everything strengthened the socialist consciousness of the working people in town and countryside. The more this movement was extended and deepened, the more revolutionary and courageous became the initiatives of the workers and peasants. At the same time, the more profoundly the directing work of the cadres of the people's power, the Party and the economy was revolutionized, the better they drew the lessons from the revolutionary experience of the masses to the benefit of the complete construction of socialist society.

The further revolutionization of the minds of the people armed with the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party released fresh energies and forces which had not been taken into account earlier in drawing up the prospective economic plans.

The initiatives of the workers to attain and even to surpass the production and productivity targets 2 or 3 years ahead of schedule spread throughout the country, in industry, agriculture and the other branches of the people's economy. The building, within 25 days, of more than 6,300 houses and other buildings which had been demolished or badly damaged by the November 1967 earthquake in the districts of Dibra and Librazhd contributed a marvellous and unprecedented experience.

This situation raised before the Party and state organs the necessity of revising the plans so that they would respond to the revolutionary drive of the masses. The Plenum of the Party Central Committee decided that in 1968 a greater growth of industrial production should be achieved than that envisaged in the 4th five-year plan, while in agriculture the productivity targets set for various crops would be surpassed. The decision on the electrification of all the villages of the country by November 8, 1971, the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, i.e., 14 years ahead of the schedule envisaged in the prospective state plan, was another decision of historic importance.

The movement to put general interest above personal interest everywhere raised the socialist patriotism of the people to a new level.

If any worker lost his life while performing his duty for the socialist construction or the defense of the country, his parents, relatives and hundreds of others immediately filled his place, thus expressing a lofty sense of patriotism with deep socialist content. Thousands of young men and young women from all parts of the country went to take the place of the 15-year-old communist girl from Dukagjin, Shkurte Pal Vata, who fell while working on the Rogozhina-Fier railway.

This lofty patriotism was expressed also in the fraternal socialist aid for one another. It was just such aid that the workers of all the districts of Albania gave their brothers of the districts of Dibra and Librazhd in coping with the consequences of the earthquake.

Of particularly great revolutionary significance was the initiative of the united Tragjas and Radhima cooperative in the district of Vlora for the wealthier agricultural cooperatives and state farms to donate a very large number of livestock to the cooperatives of the remote mountain zones. This initiative extended the bounds of the property of the group in the minds of the cooperativists. It demonstrated to them that the progress and well-being of each cooperative is inseparable from the progress and well-being of all the peasantry and all the cooperatives of the country, whether on the plains or in the mountains. This initiative was a new revolutionary road to the perfecting of economic-social relations in the village, toward raising them to a higher level.

The Movement Against Religion, Religious Prejudices and Backward Customs

The Party of Labor of Albania has always waged a systematic struggle against religion as a reactionary ideology, the opium of the people.

The Party has considered the struggle against religion, against religious prejudices and backward customs directly or indirectly connected with religion, as indispensable for the social liberation of the working people, for the development and strengthening of the socialist economy and culture, for the revolutionary ideological tempering of the masses of the people and the building of socialist society. On the other hand, it has considered the struggle for the elimination of oppression and social-economic exploitation as the primary indispensable condition to free the working people from the spiritual enslavement of religion. Therefore, the Party has always linked the struggle against religion with the struggle against oppression and exploitation, with the struggle to build socialist society. In the struggle against religion and backward customs it has applied correct forms and methods which have changed according to the historical conditions and the actual state of religious beliefs in the country, in accord with the stages of the revolution and the level of the socialist consciousness of the working people. In this struggle it has always been guided by the principle of the freedom of conscience, so that the people may understand from their own experience the futility of religion and the damage it brings to the socialist society. The decisions and measures of the PLA and of the Government of the PRA as regards religion and backward customs have always expressed the demands of the majority of the people, their interests, and the interests of socialism.

The different religions that have existed in Albania have served both the foreign and home rulers as a means to divide and enslave the people. These religious beliefs have always been used by various occupationists as an ideological weapon. It is for this reason that the struggle the Albanians have waged over centuries against foreign domination and oppression has been directed also against the reactionary clergy, which has been their tool. This accounts for the fact that the Albanian people have never been strongly attached to religion, that they have not been so fanatical, and that the clergy has not exerted such an influence on the masses of the people as in other countries. This has made the struggle of the Party against religious ideology and against the reactionary clergy less difficult.

During the National-liberation War the Party liquidated every effort of the Italian and German occupationists and the local traitors to divide the people into Moslems and Christians. It unmasked and smashed every effort of the high clergy, especially the Catholic clergy, to detach the popular masses from the Party and from the National-liberation Front.

After liberation, the attempts of the reactionary clergy and of the other class enemies to hinder the socialist construction of the country by using «the word of god», failed, too. The people turned a deaf ear to these preachings. They listened to and implemented only the word of the Party.

As far back as the proclamation of the People's Republic, the Constitution stipulated the segregation of the Church from the state, and the school from the Church. The use of the Church and religion for political purposes was prohibited, as was the setting up of political organizations on a religious basis. Under the law most of the land and other property of religious institutions was expropriated. Publishing religious literature was prohibited; possibilities for training religious cadres were, first, limited and, later, abolished. However, the Party and the government did not prohibit religious beliefs, the existence of religious communities and the exercise of religious rites. Nor could they prohibit those customs linked with religion, no matter how reactionary they were in essence, which did not constitute a direct violation of the laws of the state. The Party could not offend the feelings of a large number of workers, particularly in the rural areas, who were closely bound to the Party and the people's power, but who continued to believe in one religion or another although they did not show any excessive fanaticism. The uprooting of the religious outlook would come as a consequence of the ideological conviction of the masses.

The National-liberation War and the construction of the country have been in themselves a great school to impart atheist education to workers. They have taught the people that liberty, independence, progress and prosperity come not from prayers and not thanks to god, but are won through the struggle and efforts of the people themselves; they are the deed of the masses of the people. At the same time, in order to free the people from religious beliefs and backward customs the Party has carried out wide atheist-scientific propaganda by means of lectures and discussions through the press, broadcasts, readings, films and, particularly, through the schools, which spread culture, education and scientific knowledge.

All these factors created conditions for passing to a higher stage in the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs. After the 5th Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, this struggle developed on a wide front and assumed the character of a great movement of a deep ideological content. It included all the strata of the people, even the aged people. It was directed with concrete actions not only against reactionary religious outlooks but also against any material basis that preserved and nourished religion and backward customs.

The popular masses of the city and the country rose up to demand that the churches, mosques and monasteries, all the «holy places» be closed, that the clergy give up their parasitic life and turn into working people living by their own toil and effort, like everybody else. In public meetings organized by the Democratic Front and the Youth Union, where fiery discussions took place, the people condemned the anti-national and anti-popular role of religion, religious customs and the reactionary clergy, and decided to turn religious establishments into centres of culture, etc., to give up religious rituals and backward customs, to clear all icons, religious books and other religious symbols from their homes.

These initiatives of the people were strongly supported by the Party organizations and the organs of the people's power.

The smashing of the religious centres destroyed an important base which had poisoned the consciousness of the people and had also served as a breeding ground for enemy activity.

While supporting the popular movement of the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, the Party guided it carefully. It did not permit distortions and took timely measures against any hasty action which was not based on the will of the popular masses. It urged the people to replace religious feasts and other customs related to religion with new festivities and customs of a socialist content. The mass actions of the people to smash the bases of religion were accompanied by intensive work of atheistic scientific explanation on the part of the Party.

The Central Committee instructed the Party organizations to fight against any narrow conception of the problem of the struggle against religion, or any manifestation of self-satisfaction that might result from the brilliant successes which were achieved within an extremely short period in smashing the religious centres. The elimination of churches and mosques had not eliminated the religious outlook. Religion has very deep roots. It is interwoven and linked by a thousand threads with backward customs which have their source in the distant centuries, which live and act for a very long time. Religious customs and customary rights, like the Canon of Lek Dukagjin which is a summary of medieval customs and habits, have ruled Albanian society with an iron hand. Their savage influence has remained strong until recent times. Practices of religion and backward customs have entered into the lives even of those who are not believers, who apply them unconsciously and without understanding them. Therefore, it was necessary to uncover the source, the reactionary basis of philosophical idealism of the backward customs, of the religious practices and dogmas, and fight to destroy this basis.

> «We should be realistic,» Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed. «The fight against old customs, traditions and norms, against the religious world outlook . . . has not come to an end. This is a long, complicated and difficult struggle. Therefore, our persuasive educational work should continue without interruption in order to consolidate and to carry out the pledges taken at the meetings and people's conventions, in order to ceaselessly push forward our struggle against that which is alien and detrimental to our cause, in order to implant in the minds of the people our new, Marxist-Leninist revolutionary world outlook, the new socialist habits, customs and norms».[1]

In order to carry the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs through to the end, the Central Committee of the Party issued instructions to make the best possible use of the favorable ground created for such a struggle, always pursuing the line of the masses and carrying out a work differentiated according to the various religions, the strata of the population, the regions, villages and areas, and even according to families.

The Movement for the Complete Emancipation of Women

The struggle against the backward and reactionary viewpoints and customs which humiliate women, the movement for their emancipation, to make it possible for women to enjoy equal rights with men in our socialist society, flared up with special vigor throughout the country. The clarion call for this grand movement was sounded by Comrade Enver Hoxha on February 6, 1967:

> «The entire Party and country should stand up to hurl into the fire and break the neck of anybody who tramples underfoot the sacred law of the Party in defense of the rights of women and girls».[2]

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report «On the Role and Tasks of the Democratic Front in the Struggle for the Complete Victory of Socialism in Albania» submitted to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, September 14, 1967, Tirana, 1967, p. 54.

[2] Enver Hoxha, On the Further Revolutionization of the Party and People's Power, Tirana, 1967, p. 5.

The Party organizations and, under their leadership, the organizations of the Women's Union, the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions and the Youth Union rose to carry out this directive of the Party for the complete emancipation of women. The younger generation was in the forefront of this movement. But it was so powerful as to sweep with it even the social strata which previously had been indifferent or had maintained a conservative stand toward the emancipation of women. At meetings and forums of the broad masses organized throughout the country, young and old, men and women, courageously condemned the conservative, patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois customs and viewpoints, the religious beliefs and medieval canons which had served as a means of the enslavement of the Albanian woman in the past. The public meetings and people's consultations decided unanimously and pledged their word to the Party that they would trample down all the remnants of such barbarous customs and canons for ever. There were lively discussions on how to do away with every phenomenon and manifestation which placed the woman in a lower position than the man, on how to ensure a more active participation of women in all the political and social life of the country; a broader participation and activity of women in production, on how to secure for them a higher cultural, educational, technical and vocational level, on how to free women from the slavery of household chores, and so on. Of extraordinary importance was the unprecedented participation of the women themselves in the struggle for their complete emancipation. It was the first time that the women and girls of the highlands and of those parts of the country where the burden of customs, canons and religious prejudices had been a crushing load on their backs, had risen in this struggle with such great force. Of special importance, too, was the fact that the movement for the complete emancipation of women, for equal rights between women and men, boys and girls, began to be developed even within families themselves.

The outburst of the movement for the complete emancipation of women was the direct and natural outcome of the struggle and work the Party had waged continuously since its founding. The Party had shown the Albanian women that the only road to their complete emancipation was the broadest and most active possible participation in the people's struggle for national and social liberation and for the elimination of all oppression and exploitation, taking part in the political and social life, in the work for the socialist construction of the country.

Following the teachings of the Party, the Albanian women took an active part in the National-liberation War and, with their own blood, won equal rights with men. These rights were embodied in the Declaration of the Antifascist Council on the Rights of Citizens, in October 1944 and, later, in the Constitution and other laws of the People's Republic of Albania.

Under the leadership of the Party the Albanian women, liberated from class oppression and exploitation like all the other working people, became a tremendous force in all fields of the building of the socialist society. The advance made on the road to the complete emancipation of the Albanian women within little more than two decades has been colossal, bearing in mind that, prior to this, the overwhelming majority of women in fact were slaves. Eighteen per cent of the deputies to the People's Assembly were women, while in the people's councils and people's courts 36 per cent of the members were women. Some tens of thousands of women and girls were elected to the leading bodies of the mass organizations. A radical change had been marked in the participation of women in social production. In 1967 women comprised 42 per cent of the total workers of town and of countryside, while in the textile and food-processing industries and health institutions, as well as in certain other sectors, they were in the majority. In the field of culture and education, technological and vocational training, in contrast with the grave pre-war situation when more than 90 per cent of women were illiterate, compulsory 8-year elementary schooling was achieved for every girl, while the number of young women in the secondary schools and higher schools was very near that of young men. Thousands of women who had graduated from secondary schools and higher institutes of learning worked in and directed various branches of the economy and culture; the number of women engineers was 5 times and that of women doctors 2.5 times greater than the total number of engineers and doctors in pre-war Albania.

In spite of this great progress, the Party was aware that there was still much to be done in the direction of the complete emancipation of women. A full and more active participation by women in political and social life still encountered hindrances from the men and hesitation from the women. The role the woman should play in production had not attained the level it should. The cultural and educational level of women in general was still low. The woman, especially in the village, had still not succeeded in occupying an equal place with the man within the family. The backward customs and concepts of the past, especially the customs of the canon in the highlands, continued to exert a strong influence and were the main obstacle to real equality between husband and wife. It was precisely the transformation of this situation that this great movement for the complete emancipation of women, which had swept the country from end to end, was aimed at.

Viewing the complete emancipation of women as an extraordinarily great social problem without the solution of which «the freedom of the people or of anybody, the progress of the country and the attainment of our goals, cannot be thought of»,[1] the Plenum of the Party Central Committee examined this problem at a special meeting it held in June 1967.

The plenum defined the directions for the further deepening of the movement for the complete emancipation of women and for enhancing their role in our socialist society.

The Party Central Committee emphasized once again that the main way to ensure the complete emancipation of women is to draw them, on as broad a scale as possible, into productive labor and into the political, social and cultural life of the country.

Instructions were issued to remove all obstacles and restrictions impeding the drawing of women into every sector of the economy and culture, into all political, social and cultural activities, into the work of the Party and state administration. It was especially stressed that a turn should be made in appointing women to posts of responsibility so as to ensure a greater and more perceptible participation of women in the organization and direction of production and of political, social and cultural activities.

Great importance was attached to increasing the ranks of the Party with women comrades with a view to stimulating the life of the Party organizations and to raising their fighting capacity.

To attain these goals, the Central Committee of the Party regarded it indispensable, in the first place, to combat more persistently, more sternly and more systematically all alien concepts about women, which have their roots deep in the people's consciousness, more so amongst the men, but also amongst the women themselves.

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[1] Declaration of the CC of the PLA and of the Council of Ministers of the PRA, April 29, 1967, p. 9.

Side by side with this struggle, it was necessary to do more to ensure that the cultural-educational and technical-vocational capacity of women was raised to a higher level. To this end, the Central Committee charged the organs of the Party and state to see to it that all girls complete the compulsory 8-year schooling as provided by the law, giving priority to the enrolment of young women in the vocational and higher schools. It instructed that work be done at the same time to ensure a better and wider attendance of the evening courses by women and that more qualification courses should be organized for them.

The full participation of women in production and in political and social life, the plenum stressed, depends to a large extent on the development of socialist relations in the family, as well as on relieving the women of the heavy burden of household chores.

The liberation of the workers from class oppression and exploitation, the abolition of private ownership and the establishment of social ownership of the means of production, as well as the special rights won by Albanian women under the leadership of the Party, have been the heaviest blow ever dealt to the old family relations which kept the woman a slave, and have created the conditions for the setting up of the new socialist family. Nevertheless, the feeling of private ownership had not been eliminated and many traditions and backward customs which hindered the establishment of new family relations were still preserved.

> «For this reason,» the Central Committee pointed out, «the changes in the field of family relations, the creation of new socialist relations demand a long, persistent and all-round struggle in a complicated and difficult field, against the ideology, psychology, morality and customs inherited from the old society».[1]

For the creation and the consolidation of the new socialist family the Central Committee indicated as the main direction the uprooting of old relations in the conclusion of marriages and in conjugal life; the establishment of new matrimonial relations, as well as of correct relations between husband and wife and between the wife and other members of the family, relations divested of the feelings of private ownership, of religious norms, of backward customs and viewpoints. To assist in the strengthening of socialist family relations, instructions were issued for a re-examination of some of the old juridical standards governing family relations and their replacement with new norms, appropriate to the conditions of the new stage of the development of the socialist revolution.

Another very important road to ensure the complete equality between husband and wife in everyday life would be the struggle to free women from the slavery of household chores. As foreseen by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, this can be attained completely only with the socialization of the household economy, with the changing of this economy into a branch of the socialist production. But this is a complicated job requiring a very highly developed material-technical base of socialism and such great material and financial means that for a long time the socialist state is not able to cope with them all. Without waiting for the socialization of the household economy to be accomplished, to relieve the woman of the heavy burden of the housework more persistent work was to be done in two directions. First, every husband was called upon to take part in the household work together with his wife, to relieve her of the great burden of this work which had fallen only on the woman's shoulders. It was necessary that the idea that household work is not only the woman's job, but that of the man, too, and of all the members of the family as well, should be brought home to every husband and inculcated deep into the minds of the children at the earliest age. In the family and at school no differentiation should be made between boys and girls in regard to involving them in the household economy. Second, the Party laid down the task that the network of social services should be extended more rapidly and utilized better. Orders were given to increase the capacity of the crèches and of the kindergartens beyond the envisaged targets, to set up public dining halls, laundries and so on, and to produce and put on the market means to facilitate the household work.

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[1] Report of the Political Bureau Submitted to the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the PLA, June 15, 1967, Tirana, 1967, p. 39.

The tasks laid down by the Central Committee for the further deepening of the movement for the complete emancipation of women had the result that the movement did not stop halfway: the problem of the emancipation of women was understood more profoundly as one of decisive importance to the complete construction of socialist society, this major problem of the Party becoming the concern of our society as a whole.

The Movement for the Revolutionization of the School

The tasks assigned by the 5th Congress for the further revolutionization of the school system had a wide response.

Pupils, students and teachers took numerous initiatives and engaged in various mass actions of a political and ideological character in order to carry out this task.

In many schools the study of the fundamental documents of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works was proclaimed a special action. The masses of school youth and teachers waded into the fight against religion, alien concepts and backward customs, both inside the school and out of it. Inspired by the heroic deeds of Shkurte Pal Vata and of the other heroes of socialist labor, the pupils and the students expressed their boundless readiness to work, regardless of hardship and sacrifices, wherever the interests of the homeland and of socialism required.

Under the impact of the great movement of the popular masses to place the general interest above personal interests, new initiatives sprang up to combat the backward and individualistic concept «What's the use of further schooling?» as well as to promote the action to make greater progress in studies and for everyone to pass his class.

Besides the efforts for progress to higher levels, the struggle for the revolutionization of the content of the teaching began. Bold ideas were expressed about radical changes and improvements in the school programs and textbooks, about new and more fruitful methods of teaching and education. In many schools experimental work was begun toward a better organization of the teaching process, throwing out the schemes and prescriptions of the traditional bourgeois educational methods.

Important initiatives were taken toward linking the school closely with production. In this direction the national and local actions of the youth played a major role, but alongside these, initiatives arose to link teaching directly with production. In many urban schools workshops and departments for industrial production were set up. At the same time, the connections of the urban schools with the industrial and construction enterprises were strengthened. The work in school and in the enterprises gave the pupils the possibility to acquire the habit of work in production and to master the rudiments of specific professions. The schools of the rural areas set to work to link the teaching organically with production in agriculture and livestock farming, while many vocational secondary schools were transformed into factory schools, construction site schools, farm and forestry schools. In addition, a number of vocational schools and courses were opened by industrial and building enterprises, the state farms and agricultural cooperatives, organized and run with their own forces. The workers attended these schools and courses without leaving their jobs, thus putting into practice the principle: work while learning and learn while working.

Among the many initiatives, the actions to link the education of the youth with their physical tempering and training for defense were of special importance.

The initiatives for the revolutionization of the school were permeated by the spirit of revolutionary criticism against the conservative and reactionary outdated norms of classical bourgeois pedagogy, against the attitude of officialdom which prevailed in the relations between students and teachers.

Parallel with the actions for the revolutionization of education, the teachers and the students took a series of initiatives to develop their out-of-school activities. Such was the initiative of the teachers of the Mirdita and Kolonja districts, an initiative which spread throughout the country, to merge more deeply and link themselves more closely with the peasant masses, to become the bearers of the political line of the Party among these masses. The village teachers volunteered to run the houses and centres of culture in the agricultural cooperatives. Teachers and students became organizers of campaigns for hygiene and cleanliness, etc. The teachers' and students' ideological-political and cultural activity among the masses had a direct impact on the revolutionization of the school itself.

The revolutionization of the school had assumed the character of a broad movement. The Party regarded it as a very important component part of the ideological and cultural revolution and, at the same time, as a weapon to promote the technological and scientific revolution. The school is the nursery of the younger generation for whom the Party has always shown the greatest of care so that they may become worthy to carry the torch of revolution forward and serve the people and socialism with the greatest selflessness and ability.

By comparison with the old bourgeois school, during the 25 years of the people's power, the school had undergone radical changes both in its ideological content and the growth of its capacity. It had been transformed into a cradle of knowledge, an anvil for tempering cadres for the various branches of the economy and culture, the hearth for the education of the youth with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the Party. Education had become the property of the broad masses of the people.

Nevertheless, our school had not been completely freed from the influence of the bourgeois pedagogy and school, nor from alien revisionist influences. Teaching and education in general were still divorced from life, work and production. There was formalism and conservatism in the methods of teaching, there was officialdom in the relations between teachers and students, shrivelling of the personality of the pupils. These were the heritage from the old schools from which we were obliged to take many things. To some extent, the existence of these shortcomings was influenced by the Soviet school. The experience of this school system had been of great help to Albanian education, but, as it turned out, this system, too, preserved a number of the characteristics of bourgeois pedagogy and, consequently, had its harmful aspects.

With the changes that have taken place in Albania in the economic and social structure, it became indispensable for the school, too, as an important component part of the superstructure, to be freed from the weaknesses and deficiencies impeding it to undergo such revolutionary changes as would respond to the changes in the basis of the society, to the objective conditions and needs of the complete construction of socialist society and the transition to communism. These changes were bound to mark a quantitative leap forward in the Albanian school.

The revolutionary changes in the field of education could not take place except on the basis of the rich experience which had been accumulated on the problem of school in our country and after making a critical Marxist-Leninist analysis of this experience.

The directions of the Party for the further revolutionization of the school were laid down by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on March 7, 1968. His speech «For the Further Revolutionization of Our School System» was a great program of work. This program was built on the basis of the scientific analysis and summing up of the experience of the new Albanian school, on the basis of the movement for the revolutionization of our school, as well as on the basis of the general line of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society.

Our Party demanded of our schools, first of all, that they intensify and perfect their work for the formation of the new man, the revolutionary man imbued with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook.

To this end, it was necessary for all the pupils and students to be taught Marxism-Leninism during the whole process of schooling.

> «First of all,» Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized, «the Party should use all means and forms to teach Marxism-Leninism, the science that illuminates the road to all sciences, to everyone — to students, teachers, pedagogues, to the people, workers, peasants, to young and old».[1]

Marxism-Leninism would continue to be taught through separate subjects such as dialectical and historical materialism, the History of the Party of Labor of Albania, political economy, and so on. At the same time, it would be taught through all the other subjects, which should be permeated by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, by the proletarian policy of the Party.

But the revolutionary tempering of the pupils, the inculcation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, could not be accomplished only through the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory. This would be ensured also through revolutionary activity, through the close linking of lessons with life, of the school with production, with the work for the socialist construction of the country and for the defense of the Fatherland, through the most active possible participation of the young pioneers and the youth in social work, in the political and economic problems, in the class struggle.

Each student and pupil was required to understand profoundly that learning is not an aim in itself, but the way to acquire the greatest political, moral and technical-scientific ability, so as to be of service to society, to the construction of socialism and to the people.

> «The organic permeation of teaching and education with the ideology and policy of the Party,» Com-

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[1] Enver Hoxha, For the Further Revolutionization of Our School System, March 7, 1968, pp. 23-24.

> rade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «should be realized together with the Marxist-Leninist principle of linking teaching with practice and with the polytechnical development of our school».[1]

The close linking of teaching with practice and the polytechnical development of our schools constitute not only an ideological, but also an economic-social and technical-scientific problem. Therefore, the practical solution of this problem should respond to the solution of the tasks of deepening the revolution in the economic and social sphere as well as the further development of the technological and scientific revolution.

The linking of teaching with production was also an important means of reducing the differences between mental and physical work.

The attainment of these targets made it necessary to review the perfecting and extension of the educational system.

> «The transition to a more advanced educational-cultural and technological-economic stage, which in its turn will bring about radical changes in the school, should always respond to and serve the exigencies of the time and the moment».[2]
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> «. . . Like everything else from one stage to another, our schools, too, will undergo changes in form, structure and substance. Only one thing will never change: its backbone, which will guide it in every direction and in each transformation — the Marxist-Leninist materialist philosophy».[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 43.

[2] Ibid., p. 21.

[3] Ibid., p. 23.

This orientation should guide the whole work of further improving the educational system. The new conditions especially required a re-examination of the whole secondary and higher school system. The new kinds and types of school should better fulfil the needs for middle and higher cadres in the various branches of the economy, culture, health, and so on.

Of equal importance with the work of perfecting our school system was that of revising and working out anew the programs and textbooks for all categories of schools. The new programs should establish a better proportion between the subjects, define more clearly and more correctly the level of the knowledge to be acquired and the aim to be achieved at the end of each class in every category of school and course. The textbooks should be divested of everything excessive and unnecessary, from complicated phraseology and formulations; they should be as simple as possible and easily grasped by the pupils and students and, above all, they should be of the soundest Marxist-Leninist ideological content.

> «The textbooks should be considered as an important field, in which the line of the Party, its policy, its present programs and the preparations for the future should be concretized. We should not conceive of our new socialist school with all sorts of textbooks where the bourgeois idealist world outlook coexists with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook. We should make no concessions whatsoever to bourgeois idealist philosophy, nor the slightest concession to theology».[1]

Another fundamental requirement for the further revolutionization of the school system was the perfecting of the methods of teaching and education.

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[1] Ibid., p. 24.

> «Our socialist school,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «demands of our teachers and pedagogues a new and revolutionary method and style of work».[1]

To meet this requirement it was necessary for the teachers to reject the metaphysical concept that the classical teaching methods had achieved perfection and should serve as a model for all time. The new revolutionary methods of teaching and education would be perfected only through a fierce struggle against the content and outdated forms of bourgeois pedagogy, against formalism, stereotyped work and dogmatism, against the empty phraseology which are the distinguishing features of this pedagogy.

The improvement of the methods of teaching and of the style of work at school could not be ensured without making a radical turn in the relations between teachers and pupils. The Party demanded the elimination of officialdom and bureaucratic tutelage in these relations, the development of revolutionary democratic spirit in the school, revolutionary understanding of discipline and the authority of the teacher, the stimulation of independent thinking and the active participation of the pupils and students together with their teachers and pedagogues in solving the problems of teaching and education. The teachers, together with their pupils, should take part directly in production, in excursions, sports, games, in festivities, and so on.

Finally, for the further revolutionization of the methods of teaching, it was necessary for the teachers themselves to be revolutionaries, to be educated with the teachings of our Party, to have a profound understanding of its

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[1] Ibid., p. 44.

policy and to master Marxism-Leninism. Besides this, they were required to make unceasing efforts to extend their scientific knowledge and professional ability.

The Party did not confine the solution of the problem of further revolutionizing the system of education within the walls of the school. It made this a problem of the whole Party, of the people's power and the entire people. Throughout the country, on the basis of the orientations and theses which Comrade Enver Hoxha had presented, there started a wide popular discussion for the further revolutionization of the school. For the organization and following up of the popular discussions and the whole work for the further revolutionization of the school, the Central Committee of the PLA set up a special commission headed by Comrade Mehmet Shehu. The whole work to carry the movement for the revolutionization of the school through to the end would be developed on the basis of this method of the Party:

> «While supporting with all our might the broadest application of the line of the masses in the development of education and in the work of the school, while stirring up, within this framework, all the initiatives of the schools and the teachers at the grass roots . . . at the same time all of these initiatives should always be based on the educational policy defined by the Party on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism».[1]

The correct line of the Party for the construction of the new socialist school made the prospects of the continuous development of the country toward communism even more clear, fulfilled the natural spiritual demands of the younger generation and opened to them wide vistas of revolutionary activity for the complete construction of the socialist society.

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[1] Ibid., p. 47.

4. THE STEEL-LIKE UNITY OF THE PEOPLE ROUND THE PARTY — A GUARANTEE FOR NEW VICTORIES

The steel-like unity of the broad masses of people round the Party is a direct consequence of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist policy and activity which the Party has pursued unceasingly ever since it was founded. This unity, embodied in the Democratic Front, has played a decisive role in bringing about the major achievements attained by the Albanian people in the socialist construction of the country and the defense of the Fatherland, just as it played a decisive role also in ensuring the historic victory achieved in the National-liberation War.

The Party has never regarded the problem of the unity of the people round itself as finally solved. It has regarded the preservation and strengthening of this unity as a continuous process connected with the concrete historical stages and conditions of the revolution, with the correct solution of social contradictions. The political basis for the unity of the broad masses of the people which was laid during the National-liberation War continued to grow stronger during the struggle to build socialism, during the struggle against the internal and external class enemies. During this struggle the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry, the foundation of the political unity of the people round the Party, grew continually stronger. After the liberation of the country, this political unity acquired its own economic and social basis — the social ownership of the means of production — as well as its own ideological basis — the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, in the struggle

for the construction of socialism and the defense of the Fatherland, in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, it was tempered and turned into a steel-like unity of the socialist working people, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia.

The ways to further strengthen the unity of the people round the Party under conditions of the complete construction of socialist society and the further revolutionization of the life of the country were worked out by Comrade Enver Hoxha and submitted at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front in September 1967.

Unity will be further tempered through extensive clarifying and persuasive work to give the masses a profound understanding of the political and ideological content of the line and directives of the Party, by mobilizing the people to put them into practice.

Unity will wax strong by striving, in the first place, for the continual strengthening of the people's state power, for its further democratization by waging a ceaseless political and ideological war on bureaucracy, by securing a more active participation of the masses in running the country.

Unity will be further strengthened in the struggle to fulfil the great tasks in the development of industry, agriculture and the other branches of our economy and culture.

Unity will be strengthened particularly by implanting more deeply in the hearts and feelings of the masses the love for and loyalty to the socialist Fatherland, by always keeping alive and developing still further the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the Albanian people, by continually strengthening the hatred for class enemies, for the imperialists and revisionists, by raising to the highest level the moral, political and military preparedness of the people to defend the country.

But the main link in the further strengthening of the unity of the people round the Party lies in «the struggle to implant and the complete triumph of the proletarian ideology in the minds of all the workers».[1] In the concrete circumstances, the strengthening of the ideological basis of the unity of the people resulted directly in the strengthening of its political, economic and social basis, ensured the fulfilment of the tasks of the Party in the fields of politics, economy, culture and defense.

Further consolidation of unity, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, would be brought about through the class struggle, through the just revolutionary solution of contradictions in socialist society.

> «To treat the problem of unity apart from the class struggle, to deny, allegedly for the sake of this unity, the class struggle and the non-antagonistic contradictions in socialist society, would mean to lull to sleep the political and ideological vigilance of the Party and of the workers, to undermine the unity itself and the cause of socialism».[2]

On the other hand, it was necessary to take good care in differentiating clearly between contradictions between the people and the enemy, and the contradictions within the ranks of the people, in order not to confuse with the enemy the persons who may preserve alien ideas in their consciousness, but who are loyal to the Party and socialism. Otherwise, unity will be damaged and the bonds between the Party and the masses will be weakened.

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[1] Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, p. 36.

[2] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

The Democratic Front remained as always the embodiment of the unity of the people round the Party. The 25-year experience of the Front had confirmed the great importance of this organization in creating, preserving and continually strengthening the steel-like bonds of the Party with the masses, in mobilizing them to carry out the program of the Party, to overcome obstacles, to defeat the enemies and achieve victory. The Party put forward the tasks of strengthening the Democratic Front from the organizational point of view, of promoting the fighting spirit and independent activity of its organizations and of improving their method and style of work. The enlivenment and strengthening of the Democratic Front would serve as a principal means for deepening the mass line, for a broader and more active participation of the masses in governing the country. The Democratic Front would still continue to be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party to preserve and strengthen the unity of the people round itself, for the further revolutionization of the life of the country and the complete construction of socialist society.

The union of the people in the Democratic Front like a single body round the Party of Labor of Albania constituted an insurmountable barrier to the internal and external enemies, a guarantee of new victories on the road to socialism and communism.

> «Nothing should be spared,» Comrade Enver Hoxha has instructed, «to guard like the apple of our eye and further strengthen the monolithic unity of our people round the Party, which has been and continues to be the decisive condition for our triumphant march ahead».[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 77.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The History of the Party of Labor of Albania is a great treasury of the experience of the creative and resolute application of Marxism-Leninism, in the conditions of a country in bondage, to ensure freedom, national independence and the establishment of the people's state power; in the conditions of a backward, semi-feudal country, geographically encircled by enemy states, to build socialism.

From the summing up of this experience the following main general conclusions emerge:

1. — The Party of Labor of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the communist and workers' movement. It arose as an absolute historical necessity to lead the struggle for the people's national and social liberation.

The PLA was formed by the amalgamation of the Albanian communist groups into a revolutionary working class party of the new type on the basis of the ideological and organizational principles of Marxism-Leninism. The amalgamation was achieved in the common struggle of the communists of the various groups against the enemies of the people, against pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against alien viewpoints in the ranks of the groups themselves, by putting the general interests of the communist movement above the narrow interests of the groups. The amalgamation was cemented with the working out and acceptance of a single general line constructed on a scientific Marxist-Leninist basis.

The PLA was formed in the conditions of a backward agrarian country. The creation of the Marxist-Leninist party of the Albanian working class was not hindered by the fact that this class was small in numbers, scattered, unformed as an industrial proletariat, and had not achieved a high level of organizational and political maturity. Under these conditions, besides the working class movement, the movement of the school youth served as a powerful support for the formation of the Party. The secondary school youth and the majority of the Albanian university students were among the first to embrace communist ideas and stood in the forefront of the anti-fascist democratic movement. Under the leadership of the communists, supported and inspired by the working class, they became the bearers of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and militant patriotism among the masses of the people, thus playing an important role in the foundation of the Party and in the propagation of its revolutionary line.

The PLA was the first party of the Albanian working class and has always remained its only party.

2. — The victory of the people's revolution and the construction of the economic base of socialism was achieved under the leadership of the working class. Also under its leadership, the complete construction of socialist society is being carried out.

The leadership of the working class ensured the complete victory of the national independence of the Albanian people, the elimination of the economic dependence of the country on foreign powers, the uninterrupted development of the revolution in the political, economic and social fields, and the defense of the victories of this revolution.

The Albanian working class carried out its historic mission by means of the leading role of the Party of Labor of Albania, a proletarian revolutionary party from the viewpoint of the theory which guides it, the organizational principles upon which it is built, its political program.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always preserved inviolate its proletarian character and has faithfully realized the leadership of the working class at all stages and in all fields of the life of the country.

The Party has educated the leading cadres and all the communists, even those who do not come from the working class, with the proletarian ideology, with the spirit of loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and socialism, with the feeling of irreconcilable struggle against class enemies. Their revolutionary proletarian tempering has been carried out in the struggle against the fascist occupiers, against the local exploiting classes, against imperialism and revisionism, in the revolutionary activity for the national and social liberation, for the socialist construction and the defense of the Fatherland.

The Party has not allowed itself to become bureaucratic, to be stifled with sluggishness and routine and, as a result, to lose its revolutionary proletarian spirit. The Party has evaluated the struggle against the bureaucratization of the leading cadres, the leading organs and the Party apparatus as a decisive condition for avoiding the creation of some sort of stratum of bourgeoisified people that would aim, in the name of «Marxism-Leninism» and «the Party», to eliminate the leadership of the working class and to replace it with their own domination over the working class and its party.

By means of its own party, the Albanian working class has been able to overcome all the obstacles to the carrying out of its leading role, which resulted from the backward agrarian and semi-feudal situation of the country, from

its limited organizational level, and from the low ideological, technical and cultural level in the period of the National-liberation War and the first post-liberation years.

In the period of the construction of socialism, it has been raised in numbers, formed as a new industrial working class and developed from the technical and cultural points of view. It has gained a great political and ideological tempering and maturity, and achieved a high level of organization. This has further strengthened its role as the leader of the entire life of the country and the organizer of the construction of socialism and communism.

With the radical changes in the class structure, with the growth and tempering of the working class, the Party has been increased and strengthened with the finest members from the ranks of this class.

3. — The PLA has been able to play the leading role in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country because it has worked out and consistently applied a revolutionary general line. This line has always responded to the political, economic, social and cultural demands of the masses, the fundamental interests of the people and the Fatherland, and to the interests of socialism on both the national and international levels.

In the working out of this line the PLA has relied on: the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; the scientific analysis of the internal and external conditions, of the ratio of class forces within the country and at the international level; the revolutionary experience accumulated within the country; the experience of the international communist movement. On this basis it has been able to disclose and to evaluate correctly the fundamental contradictions in the various historical stages of the revolution and to define correctly its own programmatic aims and tasks.

In the working out of its political line, the Party has always proceeded with cautious steps, has not been hasty, nor has it delayed in taking decisions, has not enclosed itself in the narrow shell of national exceptionalism, nor has it mechanically copied or used foreign revolutionary experience. It has always been clear that the Marxist-Leninist principles and the revolutionary experience of the other sister communist parties alone cannot provide it with its own complete, ready-made political line. To achieve this, it is necessary for the party of the working class to have accumulated its own great experience, which is gained in revolutionary practice. For this reason, at the beginning of each historical stage, the PLA has been able to lay only the basis of its own general line, and later has enriched and completed it in the practice of the revolution and the socialist construction.

It is in revolutionary practice, also, that the correctness of the political line of the Party has been verified. In order to keep this line always correct and revolutionary, the PLA has never hesitated to make corrections and amendments on all occasions when the objective national and international conditions have changed, when individual decisions have been proved incorrect by practice, when life has shown that forms and methods borrowed from abroad have been inappropriate to the national reality or alien to Marxism-Leninism. It has never hidden its own mistakes or shortcomings, has maintained a critical attitude toward them, has corrected them in good time and not allowed them to become consolidated and incurable, and has not permitted within its ranks the development of anti-Party trends.

In the tactics which the PLA has followed in the various stages, there are no extreme retreats or zigzags. This is because there has been no profound ebbing of the revolution caused by objective conditions and because the Party has not made serious mistakes of principle.

The greater the experience the PLA has accumulated from its own revolutionary practice and that of the working masses, the more it has mastered the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and deepened its knowledge of them in this tide of practice, the better it has been able to make a theoretical summing up of its own and the people's experience to work out its own political line correctly and in detail, the better it has been able to find its bearings in complicated situations, the fewer and more rare have become its mistakes and the more quickly it has corrected them.

4. — The general line of the Party has been carried out with success, first of all, because it has been embraced by the broad masses of the people, has become their line, and the masses, together with the Party and under its leadership, have striven with all their might to put it into practice. The Party has won the masses by convincing them of the correctness of its line, by making them conscious of the aims of the struggle, of the difficulties, the obstacles, the sacrifices, which are necessary to ensure the victory. The Party has always attached first importance to its links with the masses.

The close links of the Party with the masses, the convincing of them in the correctness of the political line of the Party, the transformation of the line of the Party into the line of the masses, have become reality not only because this line responded to the demands and interests of the people and socialism, but also because for the application of this line the Party has always carried out practical revolutionary activity.

To convince the masses of the people, to establish lasting bonds with them and to mobilize them in struggle and work, a reliable weapon in the hands of the Party has been the concrete, tangible, clear and militant agitation and propaganda, the wide-scale, differentiated, political and ideological work in many forms, for the communist and patriotic education of the masses.

Parallel with the work of agitation and propaganda, the Party has always followed the principle: words and deeds must correspond. The educative work of the Party has always been associated with actions, with the personal example of the communists, with their stand in the front ranks in the fight and at work. The result of this has been that the conviction of the masses in the correctness of the political line of the Party has come from their own experience.

For every decision it has taken and in every step of its activity, the Party has consulted the masses, has encouraged the criticism and the free expression of the opinions of the masses, has listened carefully to their demands and proposals, has always kept in mind the lofty moral and political values of the people. It has constantly drawn lessons from the rich revolutionary experience of the masses and has taught them.

The links between the Party and the masses have been built on a sound organizational basis. Only links with the organized masses are true and stable links. The PLA has set up various political and economic organizations of the masses as links which connect the Party to the masses, as powerful levers to put into practice the political line of the Party. The programs and activities of these organizations have always been based on the policy of the Party.

A very important aspect of the revolutionary practice of the Party to maintain and to strengthen its connections with the masses and to preserve the Party itself from destruction under the attacks of the class enemies is its unyielding revolutionary stand in the face of the many difficulties it has encountered on its way. The Party has always prepared itself and the masses of the people to cope with the most difficult and complicated situations which arise inevitably in the course of the revolution. Consequently, it has never been taken by surprise by the grave situations created by the enemies. In these situations the Party has not lost its way, has not been seized by panic, or fallen into pessimism and inaction, has not lost its faith in its own forces or those of the people. It has not been cast down in despair because of the losses inflicted by the enemies' attacks. At all critical moments the Party has acted with wisdom, maturity and courage, has told the masses the truth of the situation, has appealed to them, has relied strongly on them, and has always emerged triumphant.

In difficult situations, the Party has manoeuvred with elasticity, but has never lost sight of its main objective and has not deviated from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The stability of the connections of the Party with the people has been tested in difficult situations in which these links have been further tempered.

5. — Another Marxist-Leninist principle which the PLA has applied in its revolutionary activity is to always put its proletarian politics in command for the solution of every political, economic, cultural, technical, military, or other problems. It has always evaluated all its own activities and stands, all the various phenomena and events, from a class position, as to whether they are to the advantage of the people, the revolution, of socialism on a national and international level, for the present and, especially, for the future.

This has helped the Party to grasp more readily the main link in a series of problems and to find its bearings better in complicated circumstances. This has saved it from falling into serious errors of principle, has enabled it to correct its weaknesses and shortcomings in time and to always march forward on the correct Marxist-Leninist road.

Linked with the principle of putting proletarian politics in command is the other principle of relying on one's own forces, which the Party has acted on with continuity and persistence since its foundation.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party, did not beg freedom from the imperialist and internal rulers, nor did they wait for freedom and independence to be brought to them by others from outside. In the same way, they never made the receiving of foreign aid the sole condition for the construction of socialist society, the development of the economy and culture, or for the defense of the victories of the revolution.

The principle of reliance on one's own forces found its embodiment during the National-liberation War in the slogan, «Freedom is not donated, but is won with blood and sacrifice». After the war, it was expressed in the revolutionary determination and readiness of the people to build socialism in any circumstances and under any conditions, by mobilizing all the internal human, material and financial resources.

6. — The PLA has ensured the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

This revolution has passed through three main stages: the anti-imperialist democratic stage of the victory of national independence and the establishment of the people's state power; the stage of the construction of the economic base of socialism; the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, which is in progress. These three stages are constituent parts of a single revolution.

The three stages have been developed not only without interruption, but also interwoven with one another. One stage has prepared the premises for the next stage.

In the first stage, besides tasks of an anti-imperialist democratic character, the elimination of the political domination of the bourgeoisie, a task of a socialist character, was also carried out. In the second stage, besides tasks of a socialist character, social-economic tasks of a democratic character, which it would not have been possible to solve in the first stage, were carried out.

In the second and third stages, parallel with the construction and perfecting of socialist relations, the beginnings of communist relations appeared.

At each stage of the revolution, among the many political, economic-social and ideological tasks, the solution of one fundamental task has been predominant: in the first stage — the political task; in the second stage — the economic-social task in the field of the ownership of the means of production; in the third stage — the ideological and cultural task.

So long as the victory has not been achieved in the field of ideology and culture, too, the victories of the revolution in the political and economic-social fields cannot be guaranteed, nor the danger of the re-establishment of capitalism eliminated. The revolution in the field of ideology and culture has as its aim to destroy bourgeois ideology, to create communist morality everywhere and in all directions, to avoid the coming to power of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism. Parallel with the development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture, it continues also in the political and economic-social fields. Only the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields, in the base and in the superstructure, leads to the building of communist society.

The triumphant and uninterrupted development of the revolution in Albania has been ensured from these main factors: from the undivided leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class in all stages of the revolution; from the faithful application by the Party of the general laws of the revolution in conformity with the concrete objective and subjective conditions created in the process of the development of this revolution.

The PLA has ensured the victory of the revolution, in the first place, through the revolutionary solution of three key tasks: the uniting of the masses in a single front around the Party; the organization of the armed uprising to overthrow the old state power, the creation of the people's armed forces and the general preparation of the people for defense of the victories; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continual perfecting of it.

7. — In all the stages, the Democratic Front (the direct continuation of the National-liberation Front) has been a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party for the political uniting of the broad masses of the people around itself, for mobilizing them in struggle and work, for ensuring victory.

By means of the Democratic Front, the Party has succeeded in uniting in one great political organization the classes, strata, as well as separate groups and elements — allies of the working class, at the various stages of the revolution. By means of the Democratic Front, it was made possible that none of these allies, especially those who were not included in the ranks of the other mass organizations, such as the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Unions, remained outside the influence of the proletarian policy of the Party. Through the Democratic Front, the Party was able to establish and consolidate its connections with the broadest masses of the people, and was better able to exercise its proletarian leadership in all fields.

The Democratic Front provided the broadest political support for the Party and the people's state power. The moral-political unity of the people around the Party was embodied in it.

The Democratic Front was established and always remained as a voluntary union of the masses of the people from below, and not a coalition of political parties.

At all stages, it has been based on the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. Its broadest base has been the working peasantry.

The Party of Labor of Albania has always been the only leading force of the Democratic Front and the only political party in it.

In Albania there have never been real bourgeois political parties and none were formed after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. The PLA was not opposed to the setting up of other anti-fascist parties, or against collaboration with them in the cause of the organization of the war against the occupationists, had such parties been formed.

But it fought and destroyed such political organizations as «Balli kombëtar» and «Legality», which were set up by the landlords and reactionary bourgeoisie with the encouragement and support of the Italian and German occupationists, and which tried to destroy the Party and the Democratic Front and to prevent the triumph of the people's revolution. The Party also wiped out the attempts which were made after the war by bourgeois and landlord elements, with the encouragement and support of the British and U.S. imperialists, to create reactionary political parties as weapons for the overthrow of the people's state power.

The historical fact that, besides the PLA, there have never been other political parties in the country has been a very favorable phenomenon for the working class, the people, for the revolution and socialism in Albania. This has assisted the party of the working class to carry out better and more easily its mission as the leadership of the revolution in all its stages.

The PLA's being the only political party in the country assisted the better exercising of the socialist democracy for the masses of the working people after the triumph of the people's revolution.

The Party of Labor of Albania has expressed and defended the interests not only of the working class, but also of the working peasantry and of all the Albanian people united in the Democratic Front, while viewing these interests from the angle of socialism.

The PLA has always regarded the unity of the people in the Democratic Front as a unity of classes, strata and people who have no antagonistic contradictions, who are linked by common interests and aims for one or more definite historical stages. This unity was created and strengthened in the war for freedom, national independence and socialism, in the irreconcilable struggle against the internal and foreign class enemies.

On the one hand, the Party has combatted sectarian manifestations, cases of the confusing of the people with the enemies, of the assessment of non-antagonistic contradictions amongst the people as antagonistic, of lack of the patience to work with those who are politically unclear, etc. On the other hand, it has combatted manifestations of opportunism — cases of lack of vigilance toward the class enemy or the softening of the class struggle in the ranks of the Democratic Front, trends by opportunist elements not to protect the complete ideological, political and organizational independence of the Party in the Democratic Front, or its role as its sole leadership.

This struggle has been essential to the continuous preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people in the Democratic Front.

8. — The revolution in Albania triumphed by means of the armed uprising.

In the concrete conditions, this uprising could not have been a single and immediate act. The development of the uprising was a whole process which began with antifascist demonstrations and small fighting actions and was raised step by step to the general uprising of the people.

The organization of the armed uprising absolutely demanded the preparation of a people's national-liberation army, which would be capable of defeating the enemy armed forces, destroying the state apparatus of the enemy, liberating the country from the occupationists, ensuring the establishment of the people's state power and becoming the defender of this state power. To fulfil such tasks it was absolutely necessary that this people's army should be organized as a regular people's army of the new Albanian State.

The armed uprising and the creation of the people's armed forces passed through three main stages:

In the first phase, the base was laid for the general armed uprising and for the organization of the regular national-liberation army. In this phase guerilla units, regular partizan units and battalions and volunteer territorial self-defense units were set up, and the general moral-political preparation of the masses of the people for the armed uprising was carried out. The partizan detachments liberated whole zones from the occupationists, and these were turned into reliable bases for the partizan war.

In the second phase, the war was turned into a general uprising of the people, the partizan units and battalions were organized in a centralized National-liberation Army, led by a general staff. The partizan groups and brigades were formed in this phase. The military administration in the rear areas was set up, too. Thus, the regular people's army was founded.

In the third phase, the people's general uprising led to the expulsion of the occupationists and the complete liberation of the country, to the wiping out of the reactionary armed forces, tools of the occupationists, to the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the occupiers and traitors. In this phase, the National-liberation Army as a whole was changed into the regular army of the Albanian people and the Albanian State of people's democracy.

The uprising found its inspiration and began in the cities. As it extended and strengthened, the centre of gravity passed to the countryside. The village became the main base of the uprising and the peasantry its main force. At the same time, the uprising was being extended and deepened in the cities, too. The countryside was liberated first, and this served as the starting point for the liberation of the cities and the whole country. However, right to the end the city remained the inspirer and leader of the whole uprising.

The main form of the armed struggle was the partizan war. The partizan fighting activity was outstanding for its character of unceasing attacks, for its skilful use of manoeuvre with many rapid movements, for its sudden blows, for the great initiative of the command at all levels, for its perfect exploitation of the terrain. The masterly use of the tactics of partizan warfare, the high morale of the fighters, the support and the direct participation of the masses of the people in the war, neutralized and overcame the superiority of the enemy in numbers and, especially, in fighting equipment, ensured the protection of the forces of the people's army, and a very high level of losses, or the wiping out, of its opponents.

The people's armed forces which ensured the victory of the revolution served as a powerful and irreplaceable support for its triumphant and uninterrupted development in all fields, for its defense from the hostile aims and activities of the internal reactionary forces, the imperialists and the modern revisionists. The People's Army is one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The State Security organs are the vigilant eyes of this dictatorship.

With the consolidation and perfecting of the political power in the process of the socialist construction of the country, the armed forces improved their organization, armament and military equipment, their training and fighting and political capacities. The people and the socialist state have spared nothing for the unceasing strengthening and modernization of the people's armed forces.

The PLA has shown continuing concern for the strengthening and preservation of the profoundly popular character of the armed forces, for their links with the people, their political and ideological tempering and the leadership of the armed forces by the Party.

The victories of the revolution are defended not only by the permanent armed forces, but by the whole armed people. The Party of Labor of Albania has fully applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of the arming of the people, their systematic military training and all-round fighting readiness for the defense of the socialist Fatherland. This principle has found its expression in the slogan of the Party, «We will build socialism keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other».

9. — The people's power in Albania was born in the war for national liberation as the dictatorship of the democratic revolutionary forces. It was established by smashing to its very foundations the political power of the occupationists, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie. Before the country had been entirely liberated, the problem of the state power had been solved in favor of the revolutionary forces. Immediately after the liberation, it began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the state of people's democracy.

Evaluating the question of the political power as the fundamental problem of the revolution, the Party linked the National-liberation War closely with the seizure of power by the revolutionary masses of the people. Therefore, parallel with the extension and strengthening of the armed struggle, the people's power was increased and consolidated on the ruins of the old state power. On its part, the new state power served as a reliable support for the people's armed uprising.

By launching the slogan, «The national-liberation councils, the only state power of the people in Albania», the Party prepared the masses to destroy the state power of the occupationists and the traitors and to prevent the re-establishment of the old bourgeois-landowners' state power. In this way the Party also ensured its undivided leadership in the new state power which it created. When the necessary conditions had been prepared, the Party immediately organized the formation of the revolutionary democratic government as the only government of the Albanian people, without waiting for the prior liberation of the entire country.

Using its two powerful weapons, the Democratic Front and the National-liberation Army, and not forgetting for one moment the perspective of the development of the revolution and the achievement of its final objective, the Party never shared the power with the bourgeoisie but kept inviolate the leadership of the working class in the new political state power. It defeated the pressure, which internal reaction and the U.S. and British imperialists exerted during the war and in the early post-liberation years, to bring representatives of the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie into the leadership of the people's power. It also defeated the treacherous stand of opportunist elements in its own leadership, who surrendered to the enemy pressure and agreed to share the power with the bourgeoisie.

The people's councils, the direct continuers of the national-liberation councils, are the political basis of the state power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat served, and still serves, as the principal weapon for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields and for the defense of its achievements. The socialist democracy, which has been continuously extended and consolidated, is realized by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also the means of ensuring the broad and active participation of the masses of working people in running the country.

The foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. The Albanian peasantry has always seen the dictatorship of the proletariat as its own state power, because this is the first and only state power which has fulfilled its centuries-old dreams and desires, which has ensured it liberty and the land, which has lifted it out of misery and backwardness and has guaranteed rapid progress in all fields on the socialist road.

The PLA has fought consistently against any manifestation or tendency of opportunist elements for the liberalization of the state power, for turning it into a «democracy for all», as well as against the disease of bureaucracy. This struggle has been essential to preserve the proletarian character of the people's state power, to avoid its becoming divorced from the masses of the people, and to prevent the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PLA regards the struggle against bureaucracy as an aspect of the class struggle. As such, it will continue for as long as the class struggle goes on.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is also a decisive weapon in the hands of the Party and the working class for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. The PLA will follow the course of the preservation and continuous perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat until the complete elimination of classes, as long as the building of the communist society has still to be completed and until every external danger to that society has been wiped out.

10. — In the economic field, the revolution has solved two main tasks. First, the economic basis of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was eliminated, private ownership of the means of production was wiped out and replaced with socialist social ownership, both in town and countryside. Second, the economic backwardness and the one-sided structure of the economy, which consisted mainly of small-scale agricultural production, was liquidated, and a new, multi-branched structure was built, consisting of large-scale industrial and agricultural production, relying mainly on the use of modern technique.

For the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Party did not wait for the productive forces, which had remained backward, to be developed to a high level. It built these relations (first in the cities and later in the countryside) before the construction of an adequate material-technical base of socialism had been completed, a task which would be carried out in the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society. The construction of socialist relations of production, in this manner, served as a sound support and a powerful impulse for the rapid development of the productive forces.

The remnants of feudal relations were wiped out by means of the land reform which expropriated the landowners without compensation and gave the land to the poor peasants, while at the same time prohibiting the buying and selling of land. Since this reform was carried out under the conditions of the development of the socialist revolution, it also affected the capitalist relations in the countryside.

By means of nationalization, the big and medium capitalist property in the cities was liquidated and replaced by socialist social property. The form of state capitalism was not used. The nationalization was carried out very quickly in a profoundly revolutionary way, based on expropriation without compensation.

The private property of the small-scale producers of the towns was changed into socialist property by means of the voluntary uniting of these producers in cooperatives of artisans.

The private property of the small-scale producers of the countryside was changed into cooperativist social property by means of the collectivization of agriculture. The collectivization was begun and completed without the prior nationalization of the land owned by the small producers and without waiting for the prior industrialization of the country, but parallel with the rise and development of the new socialist industry. In the process of the collectivization of agriculture and the development of industry, the material-technical base of large-scale socialist production in the countryside was created also.

The collectivization of agriculture was done on the basis of convincing the peasantry of the superiority of the socialist system of agriculture. With the help of the Party, it created this conviction from its own experience. The Party has always strictly applied the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasants to unite them in cooperatives. The middle peasants, like the poor peasants, embraced the road of collectivization and entered the cooperatives 'en masse'.

The only form which was used for the collectivization was the agricultural cooperative of production, based on social ownership of the means of production, work in common and the distribution of the product solely on the basis of the work done by each member of the cooperative.

The socialist industrialization of the country served as the main key to the development of the productive forces and the construction of a many-sided economy. Industrialization created real possibilities for the setting up and development of new branches of the economy, for the creation of an advanced, multi-branched agriculture and for its intensification.

In the socialist industrialization of the country, first place has always been given to the setting up and development of heavy industry. Consequently, the proportion of the production of means of production has constantly increased. At the same time, special importance has always been attached to the rapid development of light industry. The Party has also tried to ensure a harmonious development of industry and agriculture. Only with the support of both legs — industry and agriculture — can the construction of a strong, stable and independent economy, as well as its rapid and uninterrupted development, be assured.

The direction of the economy and the socialist construction has been a democratic, centralized direction, on the basis of a unified, general state plan.

The setting up and development of the new socialist industry, as well as the creation of the material-technical base for an intensive development of agriculture, have been carried out by relying, first of all, on the internal forces, means and resources. The internationalist aid, on the basis of reciprocity, of the socialist countries has had, and still has, a definite role in this direction.

In this way, the PLA, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has ensured: the transition of the country from a backward semi-feudal situation directly to socialism, by-passing the phase of developed capitalism; the independence of the people's economy; its rapid development on the road to socialism.

11. — In the working out of its political line and in all its activity, the PLA has always been guided by the principle that the class struggle is the main motive force for the victory of the revolution, for the construction of the socialist society and the transition to communism. The class struggle is an objective phenomenon and, as such, it is inevitable, it develops with zigzags, sometimes rises and sometimes falls, sometimes becomes acute and sometimes softens, but it is never interrupted and never dies out. It embraces all fields: political, economic-social, ideological and cultural.

The class struggle is: the struggle against the fascist imperialists and the main exploiting classes of the country for the liquidation of their political domination; the struggle against the exploiting classes for their expropriation, for the elimination of their resistance and hostile activity, for the wiping out of these classes themselves; the struggle against the remnants of the exploiting classes; the struggle against new capitalist elements and against degenerated, anti-Party capitulators and opportunists; the struggle against alien, patriarchal, feudal, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois concepts, mental attitudes, customs and habits, as well as against bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general; the struggle against the hostile pressure and activities of the imperialists and other external enemies to defeat their aggressive and predatory ambitions and attempts toward the PR of Albania.

The class struggle on the internal front has always been interwoven with the class struggle on the external front.

In the period of the National-liberation War, the main class enemy consisted of the Italian and German fascists, therefore the main blow of the struggle was directed against them. While applying the line of the unity of the whole people in the National-liberation Front, without discrimination as to class and political conviction, the Party made many efforts to prevent the contradiction between the popular masses and the landowners and the big bourgeoisie from being turned into a principal antagonistic contradiction. The landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie and their political organizations — «Balli kombëtar» and «Legality» — regarded the Communist Party and the National-liberation Front as the main enemy. They opened armed struggle against the Party and the Front and tried to destroy them by uniting in a single front with the occupationists. In these circumstances the Party and the Front were forced to fight and to destroy the organizations and the armed forces of the internal reaction from top to bottom, by unmasking their anti-national policy and activity and by the use of revolutionary violence. Thus the war against the occupationists was interwoven with the struggle against the main local exploiting classes, tools of the Italian fascist and German nazi enslavers. This meant that the National-liberation War led not only to the liberation from the foreign invaders, but also to the overthrow and divesting of political power of the main exploiting classes of the country.

After liberation the main class enemy comprised: inside the country — the overthrown exploiting classes, and after their elimination, the remnants of these classes; outside the country — imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism. In this period, too, the internal enemies always acted in conjunction with the external enemies, indeed with their encouragement and under their orders. For this reason, the struggle against internal class enemies has been closely linked with the struggle against the imperialists and their tools outside the country.

The PLA has evaluated U.S. imperialism as the main enemy and the greatest danger to the socialist order in Albania, to the world socialist revolution, to the freedom and national independence of all the peoples, to peace in the world. For this reason it has spearheaded the class struggle in the international arena against this enemy. Besides this, it has fought at the same time against other external enemies, too, collaborators or tools of the U.S. imperialists, enemies not only of socialist Albania, but of other peoples and of socialism in general.

The PLA has fought with exceptional severity against modern revisionism, the offspring and agency of imperialism. The irreconcilable principled struggle which it has waged from the start against the Yugoslav revisionists has equipped it with a great revolutionary experience and acuteness to recognize and to fight better and with more determination against the Khrushchevite revisionists as well as other revisionist trends. International modern revisionism, with Soviet revisionism at the centre, constitutes a major class enemy and the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement. The PLA considers the struggle against revisionism in the political and ideological fields as an essential condition for success in the fight against imperialism, to ensure the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution in Albania and on a world scale.

Relying on the lofty patriotism and readiness of the people to defend the socialist Fatherland, as well as on the powerful world movement of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, the PLA has never overestimated the power of imperialism and modern revisionism from the strategic aspect, has not been intimidated by, or surrendered to, their pressure and blackmail. In no circumstances and over no problems has it made them any concession of principle, nor has it agreed to bargain over revolutionary principles. At the same time, the Party has not underestimated the great danger of the imperialist and revisionist forces from the tactical aspect. It has prepared the masses of the people in an all-round way to cope with any pressure from imperialism and revisionism, to destroy any hostile plan or attempt on their part.

The class struggle continues to be severe even after the elimination of the exploiting classes. On the internal plane it is developed against the remnants of these classes as well as against degenerate elements which may arise, but it is concentrated especially in the field of ideology and culture, against alien concepts and manifestations with a feudal, patriarchal, or bourgeois character. Such concepts and manifestations, leftovers from the past, are deep-rooted and last for a long time in the consciousness of man. These, plus the political and ideological pressure from the imperialists and revisionists from outside, constitute a real basis for the birth and rise to power of revisionism, for the re-establishment of capitalism. Such a base will exist until such time as communism has been constructed within the country and capitalism has been wiped out on a world scale. Therefore the class struggle in the field of ideology and culture — against alien concepts and standpoints toward work and socialist property, against backward customs, egoism and individualism, against bureaucratic mental attitudes and manifestations, against religious beliefs and dogmas, against concepts and customs that wither and suppress the personality of the woman, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general — is an essential condition to avoid the coming to power of revisionism and the re-establishment of capitalism, for the complete construction of the socialist society and to carry on to communism.

In the external field, the class struggle continues fiercely against imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and against modern revisionism with Soviet revisionism as its centre, both in the field of politics and in that of ideology. This struggle will continue until they are finally destroyed.

By waging the class struggle and leading it correctly in all the stages of the revolution against the internal and external enemies of the people and socialism, the PLA has become highly tempered in the course of this struggle with the qualities of a revolutionary party of the working class.

12. — The PLA has always worked and fought as a detachment of the international communist and workers' movement. By ensuring the victory of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in its own country, it has, at the same time, carried out its fundamental internationalist duty to the working class and the world proletarian revolution.

In the struggle for the national and social liberation and the socialist construction of the country, the PLA has never isolated itself from the world revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it has always felt the need of the powerful support of this movement, has correctly evaluated the importance of this support and has always relied on the help of the sister communist and workers' parties, and the liberation movement of the peoples, in the first place on the assistance of the socialist countries, both in the struggle for national liberation and in the construction of socialism.

The PLA has educated the Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people in a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has always been a beloved and sacred event for the Party of Labor and all the working people of Albania. The rich experience of this revolution and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin has universal value. The immortal teachings of the October Revolution and the experience of the Bolshevik Party in general have illuminated the road of the PLA and the Albanian working people, have inspired them in the fight for freedom, independence and socialism.

In the hearts of the communists and the whole people, the PLA has implanted the feeling of pure and ardent love for the proletariat, the peoples and all the revolutionary forces of the world.

The Albanian Party and people have nurtured boundless love and loyalty for the first socialist state created by V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, which emerged from the October Revolution. This love and loyalty is always based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. When the Khrushchevite revisionists, who betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the October Revolution, emerged at the head of the Communist Party and Soviet State, the PLA immediately made a distinction between the people, on the one hand, and the Soviet revisionist leadership, on the

other. It came out in defense of the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State, in defense of J. V. Stalin and the lessons of the October Revolution, which were trodden underfoot by the revisionists, considering this as its internationalist duty.

The PLA has evaluated the Great Chinese Revolution as the biggest victory for the international working class and the world proletarian revolution after that of the Great October Revolution. From the Great Chinese Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, with Comrade Mao Tsetung at the head, arose the People's Republic of China, a bastion of socialism and a powerful base of the world revolution.

The Party of Labor and the working people of Albania have always evaluated the triumphs of the peoples of the socialist countries and of all the revolutionary peoples and forces of the world as their own triumphs.

With the communist and workers' parties and with the socialist states, the PLA has always pursued a policy of establishing and consolidating fraternal relations of sincere collaboration and aid for one another on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the struggle against revisionism.

The PLA has always expressed its solidarity with the revolutionary peoples and forces who are fighting for freedom, national independence, for people's democracy and socialism. It has unreservedly supported their liberation struggle against imperialism and reaction. It has also supported the struggle of the international working class against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

The PLA has also performed a great internationalist duty by carrying on a consistent principled struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism. By means of this struggle it has tried to: defend the socialist camp and the international communist movement from the attempts which the imperialists and revisionists have made to liquidate them; to preserve and strengthen the unity of this camp and this movement; to re-establish this unity following the split which the Khrushchevite revisionists caused, on a revolutionary basis, without revisionists and traitors and in struggle against them.

At the same time, the PLA has followed a policy of collaboration and reciprocal gain between the new Albanian State and non-socialist states, irrespective of their political and social systems.

In its relations with all states, socialist and non-socialist, the PLA has applied the principle of equality and respect for national sovereignty and has not permitted any external interference in the internal political, economic or military affairs of the Albanian people.

13. — The faithful application in a revolutionary way of the fundamental principles of the construction of a party of the new type and of the Marxist-Leninist norms in organizational questions has played a decisive role in putting into action the general line of the Party. The correct political line and the sound organization on a Marxist-Leninist basis have constituted the unbreakable strength of the PLA.

The basic principle on which the Party is built has always been democratic centralism.

The internal life of the PLA has always been characterized by a steel-like party discipline, the same for every member, and by principled criticism and self-criticism. The Party has fought for criticism and self-criticism to be used as a weapon in the communist education of the members, to prevent their falling into errors and to correct those who have made mistakes.

The decisions, directives and orders of the Party are the fruit of the collective leadership, beginning from the highest organs down to the basic organization.

One of the most important elements in the strength of the Party has been the strict application of the Leninist rules for the admission of its members. In increasing its ranks, the Party has always been guided by quality, and not quantity. The main requirements for the new members have been: loyalty to the cause of the people and communism, the capacity to set the example as vanguard fighters in all directions, their social origin and situation mainly from the working class and from the poor and cooperativist peasantry.

The PLA has always demanded that its own members think, work and live as consistent and determined revolutionaries.

14. — One of the most outstanding features of the PLA has been its monolithic organizational and ideological unity.

It has hammered out this unity and has preserved it in the irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, against factions and all the internal enemies of the Party.

After the defeat of the liquidationist Trotskyite trend in the first months of its existence, the views and activity of anti-Party groups and elements at no time succeeded in being turned into anti-Marxist ideological trends in the ranks of the Party. This was because they were discovered and combatted in time and because of the loyalty of the communists to Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party.

To preserve its unity and the correctness of its general line, during the whole of its existence the PLA has fought on two fronts: against right opportunism and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Until the spring of 1943 the main danger for the PLA was sectarianism. The roots of this danger were: the marked sectarian spirit which characterized the activity of the communist groups and which, with the uniting of the groups, had penetrated the ranks of the Party; the difficulty which the former members of the groups had in understanding the general line of the Party regarding the National-liberation War.

From the spring of 1943 until the end of the war, as well as during the whole period following liberation, the main danger for the PLA has been right opportunism.

During the National-liberation War the roots of right opportunism were: the pressure exerted on the Party by the reactionary bourgeoisie outside the Front and the middle bourgeoisie inside the Front; the pressure of U.S.-British imperialist reaction which aimed at preventing the victory of the revolutionary forces led by the Party.

After liberation, the roots of opportunism were: the pressure on the Party from the remnants of the overthrown classes and kulaks outside the Front; the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the masses of the peasantry, inside the Front over some problems of the economic policy of the Party in the countryside; imperialist pressure, especially from the USA, for the overthrow of the people's state power; the pressure of bourgeois ideology, customs and mental attitudes with a reactionary content and religious prejudices; the pressure of modern revisionism.

Another source of the danger of opportunism during the whole existence of the Party has been the petty-bourgeois origin of many of its members; the insufficient ideological training of a great number of communists.

After liberation, although sectarianism and dogmatism have not constituted any great danger to the line of the Party, manifestations of them have been apparent in the activity of some communists in various economic and political problems. If such manifestations had been underestimated, they would have seriously hindered the implementation of the general line of the Party.

The manifestations of sectarianism have had their roots mainly in the narrow outlook and the arrogance of a number of communists of petty-bourgeois, peasant or artisan origin.

The source of manifestations of dogmatism has been: in the borrowing of the experience of other countries without adapting it to the internal conditions and without a critical examination; in the insufficient theoretical preparation and the low educational level of a good number of the communists.

The PLA's struggle against opportunism, sectarianism, dogmatism, against all alien manifestations, against anti-Party groups and elements, has always been a profoundly principled struggle, permeated by the Marxist-Leninist party spirit. In this struggle the Party has always displayed a careful and moderate attitude toward those communists who have recognized their mistakes. At the same time, it has been stern and merciless with the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, with deserters and splitters of its unity.

The PLA has always seen the struggle against opportunism, sectarianism and all alien manifestations within its ranks, as an aspect, a reflection, of the class struggle being waged within the country. The Party considers the waging of the irreconcilable struggle of principle against opportunism and sectarianism, and especially against revisionism, in its own ranks as a law for the preservation of its proletarian character and for the successful construction of socialist and communist society. This struggle will continue during the entire period of the existence of the Party, because for the whole period of the transition from socialism to communism and so long as capitalism has not been defeated on a world scale, the trend and danger of the birth of revisionism objectively remains.

15. — Since its founding, the Party has continuously devoted the greatest care to the unity of its own leadership, evaluating this as the essential first condition of ensuring the ideological and organizational unity of the whole Party, of working out a correct revolutionary line and putting it into practice.

To eliminate the PLA or to turn it into a bourgeois revisionist party, the class enemies have always begun their destructive work with efforts to create opposing trends or to sow divisions within its leadership. But in the long run, these efforts have always been defeated as a result of the consistent, principled struggle within the ranks of the Central Committee and the whole Party against factionism and against the reconciliation with opposite viewpoints, against opportunism and sectarianism. Whenever it has happened that various leaders have committed infringements of the norms and principles of the Party, it has patiently helped them to correct themselves and put them back on the right road. But whenever it has been proved that this or that leader has capitulated to the difficulties or to the pressure of the class enemy and has deviated from Marxism-Leninism, or, even worse, has been changed into an agent of the bourgeoisie, or the Yugoslav or Khrushchevite revisionists, then the Party has expelled them from the leadership without hesitation, regardless of their former merits.

The steel-like unity of the Central Committee has been ensured also by strict adherence to the principle of collective leadership in the taking of decisions.

The leaders of the Party and the state have played a major role in achieving the victories in the people's revolution and the socialist construction. These leaders have emerged from the ranks of the people, have been trained and tempered as political leaders and organizers of the masses in revolutionary struggle. With their wisdom, self-sacrifice and consistent loyalty to the cause of the people and communism, with the aid and support of the Party and the masses of the people, they have won high authority, great experience of political leadership, and the love and esteem of the people.

Outstanding among the leaders is Comrade Enver Hoxha. He is the founder of the PLA and has led it since its creation through all the historical stages of the revolution. He has made the greatest contribution to working out its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. With his wisdom, determination, far-sightedness and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver Hoxha has ensured the consistent revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist norms of the Party, has never allowed it to be diverted into a blind alley and has always brought it forth triumphant from all the difficult and complicated situations. In his works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a Marxist-Leninist theoretical generalization of the revolutionary experience of the PLA, thus making an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha is the most beloved teacher and leader of the whole Albanian people united in a steel-like moral-political unity around the Party and its Central Committee.

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The History of the PLA reflects the combining and enriching of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Albanian Party of the working class and the masses of the Albanian working people. It testifies to the gigantic force of inspiration, movement and transformation Marxism-Leninism has when it is applied faithfully and in a creative manner by a revolutionary party of the working class.

The great experience which the PLA has accumulated, the tempering and maturity which it has gained on its glorious road, assist it to carry out a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line and to lead the Albanian people to the final victory of socialism and communism in the future.

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